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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2121

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HOXHA MEETS WITH YOUNG VIOLINIST

Tirana DRITA in Albanian 20 Feb 83 p 3

[Article: "Comrade Enver Hoxha Congratulates the Talented Violinist Tedi Papavrami and Wishes Him Success"--the talented 12-year-old violinist Tedi Papavrami visits Enver Hoxha's family]

[Text] The young violinist is on vacation from France where he is taking lessons at the Paris Conservatory under the tutelage of the celebrated violinist Pierre Amoyal. In order to be accepted in this conservatory, he had to take part in two competitions with 200 and with 56 participants from France and other countries of the world and in both competitions he won first prize.

Comrade Enver congratulated Tedi on his successes.

"The party," Comrade Enver said, "wants you, Tedi, to learn well and to become a celebrated violinist. With your will and your talent you can help to make Albania better known in the world.

Tedi told Comrade Enver about his passion for music and about his favorite instrument, the violin, which he began to play under the direction of his parents when he was 4 years old.

"Through the press," Comrade Enver says, "I have followed your tour in France. The press talks about you a lot and I am happy that you are learning well. If you continue to learn this way and if you are good and love the country you will progress better and better."

Then Comrade Enver asked Tedi to play something on the violin.

"I will play a ballad for violin by P. Gaci and two capriccios by Paganini," Tedi said. And the sweet sounds of his violin mingled with other feelings and emotions.

Comrade Enver listened attentively to the interpretation of the talented violinist which was filled with feeling and mastery. He wished Tedi successes in his work. This is encouragement for all our talented children, for all our youth who love art and culture, for whom the party and Comrade Enver have created wonderful conditions.

Taking Tedi's violin in his hands, Comrade Enver told him:

"I like the violin very much, too. When I was young, I played the mandolin a little with my schoolmates. At that time I was a little older than you are. I love and appreciate music. The violin and the piano are two instruments that I like very much. Therefore, I want my grandsons and granddaughters to love music and to learn to play these instruments."

Comrade Enver said: "We see the participation of our younger generation in the arts and culture, just as in every field of life; we see it everywhere on our stages, in concerts and in exhibition halls."

[This article is accompanied by a photograph of Enver Hoxha and Tedi Papavrami]

CSO: 2100/35

HUSAK WRITES ON ANNIVERSARY OF JULIUS FUCIK

PM281037 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Feb 83 p 2

[Extracts from an address to Soviet readers by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, tied to the 80th anniversary of the birth of Julius Fucik: "To the Soviet Reader"]

[Text] The history of every people is not just a sum total of events but, above all, a living chronicle telling of the struggle, dreams, and desires of people, as well as of the destinies and deeds of outstanding individuals whose names have gone down in history and who are always remembered with pride and love, with profound respect and admiration. Julius Fucik, hero of the Czechoslovak people, who stood unshakably on the side of the just cause of the working class and all working people with all his heart and mind, belongs among such people in Czechoslovakia's most recent history.

A significant place in the life and creativity of Julius Fucik is occupied by his works on the Soviet Union, in which he convincingly reveals the advantages of the socialist system and its significance as the future and youth of all mankind with extraordinary enthusiasm and understanding of the historic significance of the emergence of the first worker-peasant state for further world development. The dissemination of the truth about the land of the Soviets was of great significance after the Great October socialist revolution and in the period between the two world wars. The Soviet Union's foes and the inveterate enemies of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism did not disdain, as is still the case today, to use any means to slander the world's first socialist state and deceive working people in their own countries by disseminating slander and fabrications about the life of the Soviet person. The Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and its [word indistinct] acted in such a spirit.

The CPCZ and the progressive forces of our peoples defended and disseminated the truth about the Soviet Union, the country where a new life was being established, a life without capitalists, unemployment or poverty, without oppression, exploitation or wars. We are proud of the fact that our progressive literature in the twenties and thirties produced works following this trend, works which are convincing political and artistic documents telling of the historical development of the Soviet Union. Their authors were such outstanding representatives of our political and cultural life as Zdenek Nejedly, Bohumir Smeral, Ivan Olbracht, Stanislav Kostka Neumann, Maria Majerova,

Peter Jilemnicky, Maria Pujmanova and others. One of the most honorable places among them is occupied by Julius Fucik, whose ardent and sincere feelings for the Soviet Union are well known. Even in an article written for the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution one can read: "The attitude toward the Russian revolution is for us the touchstone for a person's strength and capability to work in today's world."

J. Fucik visited the Soviet Union twice. The first time was in 1930 with a workers delegation invited by the Czechoslovak [as published] production cooperative ("intergelpo") in Central Asia for the celebrations of the fifth anniversary of the cooperative's formation. The second time he came to the Soviet Union in the summer of 1934 as correspondent for RUDE PRAVO, the first Moscow correspondent of the Czechoslovak Communist press. Together with Ladislav Stoll he also worked in the editorial office of Radio Moscow's service for Czechoslovakia. He spent 20 months in the Soviet Union.

His literary and journalistic works about the Soviet Union are based on personal impressions acquired first-hand during numerous meetings with Soviet people, whom Fucik loved and who loved Fucik. He took part in party meetings at Moscow's Bolshevik factory and at other enterprises. While he was writing his reports on the building of the Moscow metro, he voluntarily worked underground. He used to visit workers' families and constantly discovered new traits characteristic of Soviet man, finding them in the selflessness and the heroic daily labor which was not a manifestation of selfish personal goals, but was dictated by the striving to participate in the building of socialist society. He saw with his own eyes the enormous changes brought about by the revolution in Soviet central Asia, where socialism created conditions for the flourishing of national literature and language, where it created a system of education, and where new modern towns grew up and the conditions of people's life changed completely.

Everything Julius Fucik saw and experienced in the Soviet Union was convincingly shown in the book "In the Country Where Tomorrow Is Already Yesterday," in numerous reports and articles and at hundreds of meetings and talks with working people. The collection of his reports published in the book "In the Beloved Country," which came out after our motherland's liberation by the Soviet Army, is also widely known. Julius Fucik presented his impression of the life of the Soviet country and of the Soviet people as a struggle by the new against the old, as a confrontation of the socialist and capitalist worlds. With passionate enthusiasm and a striving to tell the truth about the Soviet Union, he gave the people an honest account of the free and dignified life of Soviet man who had become the real master of his country and disclosed to them how the personality change of this man was proceeding and how his new attitude toward the social system was being shaped. Furthermore, he always instilled in others the confidence that the day would come for our working people to take the road to the new, socialist life.

Julius Fucik came to know life in the Soviet Union under socialism, where the working people are themselves the masters. In May 1936 he returned to the capitalist world, to bourgeois Czechoslovakia, where capital ruled, generating crises and mass unemployment. His eyes which had grown accustomed to looking

at the tremendous happiness of freed labor were again cast upon capitalist Czechoslovakia and Europe, which were being shaken to their foundations by the economic crisis and the danger of fascism.

J. Fucik's struggle against fascism culminated in the period 1940-43. Following the arrest of the members of the first illegal CPCZ central leadership, J. Fucik together with Jan Zika and other eminent party workers became members of the second illegal CPCZ central leadership. He was responsible for publishing the party press and, above all, RUDE PRAVO, and for party propaganda. In J. Fucik's journalistic work, the editorship of the illegally published RUDE PRAVO was a period of intensive and exceptional creativity. At the same time, this period marked one of the culmination points in the history of communist press in Czechoslovakia.

During the struggle against the fascist aggressors, J. Fucik was guided and given strength by the firm belief in the ultimate victory of the just liberation struggle of the peoples. Following the perfidious Nazi attack against the Soviet Union, this faith became a conviction. For the first illegally published issue of RUDE PRAVO, which he himself edited and which came out in mid-July 1941, J. Fucik wrote an article in which, with consummate foresight, he described Hitlerite Germany's attack against the Soviet Union as the actions of "a gambler standing on the edge of the precipice and betting everything on one single card in the reckless hope that by some miracle this card will not be beat." And he continued: "But there are no miracles in history. This card will be beaten, and is already being beaten."

The illegally published RUDE PRAVO of the period under J. Fucik's editorship analyzed the situation in the country and abroad and constantly called for struggle against fascism. It reported the Red Army's battles, our party's activity in the country and the work of the CPCZ leadership in the USSR on organizing the resistance movement. In an article acclaiming the conclusion of an agreement between Czechoslovakia and the USSR on mutual aid and cooperation in the struggle against Nazism, J. Fucik wrote: "The Red Army is also fighting for our freedom. Let us do everything so that it may achieve victory as soon as possible, so that its victory can also be our victory." J. Fucik also wrote and published illegally other trenchant antifascist articles, while in an open letter to Nazi propaganda Minister Goebbels he ardently defended the honor and democratic character of Czech culture and its opposition to fascist tyranny and violence. J. Fucik's struggle against fascism did not stop with his arrest. He continued it in the Nazi torture chambers. Face to face with the Gestapo, with torture and with death, J. Fucik did not succumb. He lived on and life for him meant struggling, working and writing. Thus, in Cell 267 at the Pankraz prison he wrote the famous "Report With a Noose Round my Neck."

Just as J. Fucik's active participation in the antifascist resistance was the culmination of his life, this book, not large in volume but exceptional in its thoughts and contents, was the culmination of his literary creative work. It has indubitably entered the golden treasure house of Czechoslovak literature. The conditions under which "Report With a Noose Round my Neck" emerged are well known. Almost 4 decades separate us today from the time it was written. Nevertheless, time has not diminished its significance but has only strengthened and confirmed its clarity and its relevance to the people of the 20th century,

the people living in the society of capitalist class divisions, under the conditions of threat of a nuclear catastrophe, in a world where socialism and communism--just as during J. Fucik's life--are the only hope and stronghold of peace, the victory of life and creative labor. "Report With a Noose Round my Neck" has not lost its profound veracity. All over the world tens of thousands of people still read it with emotion, love and respect. It indefatigably calls for struggle against fascism, for social and national justice and for humanism. It teaches us to understand what communism is, it teaches courage, heroism and humaneness. It is convincing proof of the moral strength and firmness of character given to man by the ideals of socialism and communism....

In his "Report" J. Fucik testifies of an important stage in the national liberation struggle waged by the Czech and Slovak peoples against fascism. Nevertheless, "Report" is much more than just a simple testimony. It is a passionate polemic against fascism, an expression of everything that Fucik lived through, of his revolutionary convictions, firmness, loyalty to communism, civic courage, love for people, respect for history and passionate faith in the future. It is a manifesto of life and peace, a damning accusation of fascist tyranny and inhumanity. Fucik writes about the present, but addresses himself to the future. With his book he confirms the truth which he discovered earlier: the struggle against fascism is a struggle for a world which, after the defeat of fascism, will again bloom with creative labor and new joy. Fucik was profoundly and unwaveringly convinced that this world would be socialist....

Our peoples and all progressive mankind will forever retain in their memory the image of Julius Fucik as a loyal son of the CPCZ and our people, as a noble man, ardent patriot and internationalist and one of the unforgettable heroes of the antifascist resistance. His life and creative work clearly and convincingly confirm that the great artistic and human values emerge in close unity with the daily struggle of the working class and all working people for social progress, in unity with the communist party, and when there is a deep understanding of the scientific view of the world and with active participation in the workirg people's struggle.

Fucik's creative work, with its revolutionary humanistic enthusiasm and dialectical unity of nationalism and internationalism, is the most valuable source for today's cultural policy of our party and state under the conditions of building the developed socialist society.

New editions of J. Fucik's books are being constantly published in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and all over the world. For many years "Report With a Noose Round my Neck" has been the most frequently translated Czech book. It is read with enthusiasm and appreciation wherever a struggle is being waged against fascism, for tomorrow and the future, for peace and progress.

Fucik's struggle was a struggle for the thoughts, character and personality of 20th-century man. This struggle continues today. Even today Fucik's creative work, imbued with the struggle for victory by the just social system and for the liberation of the working man, the struggle against bourgeois anti-Soviet and

anticommunist campaigns and persecutions, the struggle against fascism and war, for people's freedom and peaceful life, is a real treatise of the topical and vitally important questions of our times. This creative work is imbued with profound optimism and faith in the ultimate victory of the ideas of socialism. It is based upon indestructible loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist ideals, convinced internationalism, knowledge and mastery of the objective laws of social development. This is why it is one of the purest and constantly inspiring sources of the socialist present and the communist future.

CSO: 1807/165

JANUARY 1983 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Jan 83 p 4

[Volkmar Bachmann review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38, No 1, January 1983, signed to press 13 December 1982, pp 1-112: "The Nations Want a Secure Peace." A translation of the SED Central Committee theses referred to below as well as translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below and by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] Today more than ever the future of Europe is threatened by the stepped-up U.S. arms policy and by NATO's confrontational course. But never before were the forces of peace and the will for peace of the nations as strong as they are today. These facts are being comprehensively documented in the contributions to the topic "Europe--No Euroshima!" in the first issue of EINHEIT in 1983.

Thus Ernst Krabatsch describes the unswerving aspiration of the Soviet Union and of the other states of the socialist community to strengthen world peace as well as their constant readiness for a constructive dialogue and for reaching agreement. On the basis of facts Guenter Kalex proves from whom the threat of war emanates, e.g. the "crusaders" in the United States and their allies who, disregarding the will of the people, continue to step up the arms race. Werner Huebner in turn describes the tireless struggle of the socialist community of states to safeguard military equilibrium at an increasingly lower level, down to comprehensive disarmament measures. Peter Stechmesser devotes his attention to the acute dangers to peace arising from the ideological re-armament of the Reagan administration in the service of anticommunism.

The arguments presented in this collection of articles are being supported by "Facts and Figures on the U.S. Policy of Stepped-up Armament," compiled by Siegfried Ullrich [social scientist, GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 58-59] and by the documentation on "NATO's Confrontational Course," drawn up by Tibor Dobias and Eberhard Heidmann [Dr Tibor Dobias, colonel, and Dr Eberhard Heidmann, economist, GDR Military History Institute; pp 105-108].

Other contributions to EINHEIT deal with the yardsticks for top performance, for time saving and product quality in production and research and development. Their authors are Peter Kolbe, Horst Enders, Hans-Joachim Beyer and

Hilmar Schmidt. Walter Wimmer writes about the struggle of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) at the head of the resistance against fascism. Olaf Groehler deals with the world historic victory of the Soviet Army at Stalingrad.

The January issue also contains the "Theses of the SED Central Committee on the 1983 Karl Marx Year," published as early as 1982 in the daily press as well as in pamphlet form by Dietz.

CS: 2300/145

SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE THESES ON 1983 KARL MARX YEAR PUBLISHED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 1, Jan 83 (signed to press 13 Dec 82) pp 10-27

[Official text of "Theses of the SED Central Committee on the 1983 Karl Marx Year"]

[Text] On the occasion of Karl Marx' 165th birthday and 100th death anniversary, the SED Central Committee at its fifth session (25/26 November 1982) declared 1983 a Karl Marx Year in the GDR and ratified the following theses.

I. Revolutionary and Theoretician of the Workers Class

1. Karl Marx was born in Trier on 5 May 1818; he died in London on 14 March 1883. His 165th birthday and his 100th death anniversary occur both in 1983. That is an event of great importance in the life of the GDR people, for the international workers movement and for all progressive mankind. These anniversaries come at a time when the invincible strength of the Marxist ideas and their world-changing revolutionary world-outlook becomes most patently apparent. Both the successful development of socialism and the deep crisis in capitalist society directly corroborate the Marxist theory. With it, the ever sharper and frenetic attacks of reaction all over the world demonstrate it has not succeeded, and cannot succeed, in preventing the growing international influence of Marxism-Leninism. Social reality today is marked by penetrating social transformations, the scientific-technical revolution and the dangers of worldwide nuclear war posed by the confrontational course of imperialism. To settle the issues raised by it, of the existence and further development of humanity, a scientific theory and method are needed more than ever to comprehend the contradictory developmental tendencies in their substance, recognize the class forces behind them, and find the ways through which the yearning of the peoples for a world of secure peace, labor free of exploitation, social security and justice, and education for all can be brought to practical realization. None but Marxism-Leninism can meet such a demand.

In Karl Marx we honor the greatest son of the German people. Together with Friedrich Engels he established scientific socialism, the scientific world-outlook, the theory and program of the revolutionary workers movement, for the creation of a society free from exploitation. During his lifetime, Karl Marx was the most important leader of the German and international workers movement. "Taking part in the liberation of the modern proletariat,

which he had been the first to provide with the awareness of the conditions for its emancipation--that was his true vocation."[1] Marx analyzed the concrete conditions of the class struggle and generalized the experiences of the revolutionary workers movement. He equipped its revolutionary party with the strategy and tactics, with the scientific doctrine on conducting the struggle for socialism and communism. The work of Karl Marx is creatively being carried on in the international workers movement. An outstanding role in this goes to V. I. Lenin and the CPSU. Lenin defended Marxism against all attacks and enriched scientific socialism with new insights. At present, the communist and workers parties that firmly adopt the positions of scientific socialism carry out the obligation to the further development of Marxism-Leninism. Our party, the SED, may assert that it is assuming its international responsibility and making its contribution to the creative application and enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory. Marxism-Leninism proves the theoretical foundation for the revolutionary working class parties throughout the world. Its influence is growing because it provides universal answers for the basic problems of our time. It is the most reliable compass in the struggle for socialism, peace and social progress.

2. Together with Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx established dialectic and historical materialism, the political economy of the working class and scientific socialism as a cohesive scientific working class theory. Thereby he revolutionized all previous social thought. Through gigantic efforts he appropriated the best achievements of all previous science and culture and gave creative answers to questions history had placed on the agenda. Marxism is a militant world-outlook. It originated in close connection with the class struggle and expresses the interests and needs of the struggling proletariat. It is the most important weapon the working class has in struggling for its liberation. Marx was the first to prove that there can be no neutral social theory and ideology, above and beyond the classes. Ideas always reflect class interests and serve to enforce and defend those interests. As the class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are irreconcilable, the working class theory had to be worked out and further developed in oppositon to bourgeois ideology. That also is why Marxism-Leninism meets with bitter resistance from bourgeois ideology, by which it is constantly distorted and maligned. It being a vital force, the bourgeoisie finds itself induced time and time again to carry on new crusades against communism. As history proves, all efforts of the bourgeoisie could not prevent Marxism-Leninism from becoming the most influential intellectual current of our time.

3. One of the most significant discoveries of Marx was the concept of historic materialism. He recognized the general laws of motion in human society and described the class struggle as the crucial impulse for social progress under exploitation conditions. The concept of historical materialism was first in establishing the scientific understanding of the objective conditions and of the course and goal in the struggle of the working class and its party. The replacement of capitalism by socialism was explained by the objective inevitabilities of social development. In his chief opus, "Das Kapital," Marx disclosed the laws of economic motion in the capitalist mode of production, unmasked their character and showed their historic developmental tendencies. A central place in this goes to the surplus value theory. Marx proved that there can be no reconciliation between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This gave the deepest scientific explanation for the historic role of the workers class.

"The most important in the Marxist doctrine is the clarification of the world historic role of the proletariat as the creator of socialist society."[2] Capitalist society creates productive forces that come into conflict with the capitalist form of their appropriation. It also produces the class that can and must resolve that conflict at a certain level of historic development. The "workers class, trained, united and organized by the mechanism of the capitalist production process itself,"[3] has the historic mission to eliminate the capitalist mode of production, construct socialist society and thus abolish exploitation and suppression altogether. That is possible only by converting the means of production into public property. "The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as a ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible."[4] Karl Marx made clear that the workers class needs the dictatorship of the proletariat to attain its final goal, the classless communist society. In the "Communist Manifesto," the first scientific working class program, Marx and Engels proved that, for implementing its historic role, the working class needs a revolutionary party.

4. Karl Marx was the recognized and respected leader of the German and international workers movement. The revolutionary struggle to him was the source and goal of his theoretical efforts. It was thanks to the efforts of Marx and Engels that in the Communist League in 1847 there arose on the basis of scientific communism the first German and, at once, international independent revolutionary working class party. The high point in Marx' revolutionary activity is connected with the work of the International Working Men's Association (1864-1876). He was the actual organizer and leader of the First International. Under his leadership, the workers organizations of the various countries were combined and directed toward uniform revolutionary channels, and the formation of revolutionary mass parties on a national level was fostered. Marx knew how to rally around himself fellow-combatants loyally dedicated to the cause of the working class, prepare them through theory, and raise them as internationalist revolutionaries. He was a proven counselor to the German and international workers movement.

II. The Historic Triumphant March of Marxism

5. With the scientific world-outlook established by Marx, a revolution was brought about in the intellectual life of society with a lasting effect that today as well as in the future determines the main thrust in all ideological confrontation. That signaled the most penetrating historic transformation in all economic, political, social and intellectual-cultural relations. Since the appearance of the "Communist Manifesto" the scientific working class world-outlook has experienced an incomparable triumphant march. The few hundred members of the Communist League of 1847 grew into the army of millions of today's communist world movement. "Working men of all countries, unite!" This battle-cry for peace and social justice, for freedom, against exploitation and suppression, and for true humanism, is sounded in all languages of humanity today. Marxist ideas and their further development by Lenin have caught the masses due to the efforts of the revolutionary workers parties and thus, as Marx foresaw, assumed material force. Though the people's

masses always had been the driving force in social development, their struggle since the appearance of Marxism, due to the efforts of the revolutionary workers parties, assumed a new quality. For the first time they became the conscious shapers of their own history.

Giving the lie to myths of bourgeois design, to the effect that Marx' ideas had lost their effectiveness, the Marxist-Leninist strength of radiation has enormously increased, especially in recent decades. That is impressively confirmed by the successes of the three main revolutionary currents. In the socialist countries, social relations were transformed in conformity with Marx' objectives, Marxism-Leninism forms the basis of social strategy and became the ruling ideology. This then also gave the people's masses direct access to the management of society.

Social reality in the imperialist countries is marked by the deep crisis in capitalism. In the seventh decade of its general crisis, a particular type of intertwining between the general and the cyclical crisis has emerged. In all domains of life, crisis manifestations are growing. Deep social contradictions in capitalism, massive unemployment and welfare cuts have heightened the activities of broad masses of working people struggling against capital and for their rights and living conditions. The capitalist world of today is marked by deep class contradictions and tough class struggle. As rarely before, this again confirms how correct and pertinent the Marxist theory is. Seeking new solutions in the struggle for social security and peace, new masses are turning toward Marxism-Leninism. Though the European continent served as the cradle for socialist theory and practice, socialism has long spread all over the world and found bastions in Asia, Latin America and Africa.

In the practical struggle for national independence and social liberation, the broad masses in many countries on those continents find their action guideline in Marxism-Leninism. Thus new fighters keep entering the international phalanx of the Marxist-Leninists. The emergence and strengthening of the socialist world system supported the upsurge in the other revolutionary currents, the workers movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement; their collaboration has deepened. Imperialism has lost important positions. The focal point of the struggle between socialism and imperialism today is the safeguarding of peace. Today's reality of the crisis-ridden development in the capitalist countries, the confrontational policy of the most aggressive, especially U.S. imperialist, circles, and the bloody suppression of national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America is tantamount to a school in which millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals can find out by what they see and experience themselves who the enemy is of peace and human progress.

6. The triumphant march of Marxism began with the founding of the Communist League on the eve of the 1848/49 Revolution and then continued through the struggle against the various petty bourgeois conceptions in the workers movement. That process was given a decisive impulse by the founding in 1864 of the International Working Men's Association.

Under the influence of the First International, there arose in Germany the Social Democratic Workers Party (Eisenach). Led by August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, it turned into the strongest Marxist mass party in the last third of the 19th century. That also was the time of the glorious Paris Commune of 1871. The French proletariat made the first attempt at seizing power and making society socialist. The Commune, drowned in a gruesome bloodbath by the counterrevolution, provided the international workers movement with valuable experiences for its struggle. Above all it produced a new type of state, "the political form, finally discovered," as Marx wrote, "under which the economic liberation of the workers class could take place."[5] Only the Russian proletariat came to implement the crucial lesson of the Commune, that the workers class cannot take over the bourgeois state apparatus but must destroy it and set up its own political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

7. In the relatively peaceful era from 1981 to the first Russian revolution of 1905, Marxism became the prevailing trend in the workers movement in many countries. In 1893 Friedrich Engels was able to say: "Anything that happens in the world anywhere happens with regard taken of us. We are a big power to be feared, on which depends more than on the other big powers. In that I take pride. We have not lived in vain and can look back at our efforts with pride and contentment."[6]

The broadening of the workers movement, the starting transition toward imperialism and the changes that brought about in the conditions for proletarian struggle had profound effects on the further development of the Marxist parties. High extra profits made it possible for the bourgeoisie to corrupt some part of the workers class. Reformist, opportunist and nationalistic tendencies thus found a social base within the workers movement. "The dialectics of history is such," V. I. Lenin remarked, "that the theoretical victory of Marxism forces its enemies to disguise as Marxists."[7] To halt the triumphant march of Marxism, the bourgeoisie resorted to revisionism and reformism. With such help it succeeded in subverting the parties of the Second International from within, which ultimately led to its capitulation to the bourgeoisie. Large sectors of the labor movement thus were prevented from effectively interfering with those who unleashed World War I. The life and blood of millions of workers had to pay for faulty class positions.

8. The continuity of the revolutionary workers movement could be ensured only through uncompromising struggle against opportunism. That was mainly the achievement of V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik party he created and led. In the historically new situation resulting from the transition of capitalism to its highest and final stage, imperialism, since the turn of the century, V. I. Lenin was the only one who understood how to combine the defense of Marxism with its further development in conformity with the new requirements. In his struggle against the revisionist adulterators of Marxism, Lenin recognized with a sure instinct that the transition of capitalism into its imperialist phase would in no way amount to a growing into socialism by means of gradual reforms, but to an intensification of class contradictions and the socialist revolution. Lenin applied the doctrines of Marx creatively to the new conditions and enriched them with new understanding. That included his analysis

of imperialism, which was based on Marx' economic theory, the further development of the revolutionary theory, and the elaboration of the theoretical principles of the new type of party and its strategy and tactics in the struggle for the conquest of political power and the construction of socialism. Since then Marx' doctrine has logically been combined with its further development by Lenin. Marxism became Marxism-Leninism.

9. With the Great Socialist October Revolution, which initiated a new historic era, and with the construction of socialism in the USSR, Marxism experienced its greatest triumph up to then. Led by the glorious CPSU, the Soviet people, through hard efforts and sacrificial struggles, was first in world history in laying the foundations of socialism. Thereby the working people of the Soviet Union performed inestimable pioneering work for the international workers class.

The development of Marxism-Leninism since 1917 was significantly andvanced by the insights gained in solving the historically new complicated tasks in the socialist transformation in the Soviet Union. Channeled into that also were the experiences gathered by the other main currents of the revolutionary world movement in the new era of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism that the October Revolution had spawned. The modern communist movement formed under the influence of the Great Socialist October Revolution. The Communist International emerged. It made a crucial contribution to combining Leninism with the international workers movement and creating Marxist-Leninist parties that would stand up in the struggle against imperialism, fascism and war.

10. After the victory by the Soviet Union and its allies over Hitler fascism, more peoples broke the chains of capitalism. In several European and Asian countries, the workers class, allied with the peasantry and other working people, overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie, established its power and moved toward the socialist revolution. There arose the socialist world system, which spreads acrosss several continents and which today includes states found in diverse phases in the construction of socialist society. The states of the socialist community, which closely combine their material, scientific, cultural and military potentials in CEMA and in the Warsaw Pact, contribute critically to the change in the international correlation of forces for the benefit of the forces of peace and social progress. They have a crucial influence on world events. They are the decisive force in the worldwide struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. The close cooperation of the states in the socialist community under communist party leadership serves the interests of each of those countries as well as of the community as a whole. By using all its advantages and by its consistent peace and disarmament policy, socialism demonstrates its historic superiority over imperialism and enhances its power of attraction toward the nations.

In the six and one-half decades since the Great Socialist October Revolution, the international communist movement became the most influential political force of our era. Communist and workers parties in nearly 100 countries are part of it today. It is the vivid expression of the combination between scientific socialism and the most progressive forces of the workers movement,

advancing in all parts of the world in the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation, the conquest of political power and the revolutionary transformation of society, the construction of socialism and communism. The growth and the struggles of the communist movement and the confrontation with the various anticommunist, social-reformist and opportunistic attacks sustain and confirm the principles established by Marx, Engels and Lenin of proletarian internationalism, of the international unification and collaboration of the communists and all revolutionary forces.

All historic experiences of the modern era confirm how vital and pertinent Marxism-Leninism is. That is proven as much by the deep crisis in imperialism as by the successes of socialism in erecting a new world. Marx' fundamental lessons on the revolutionary role of the proletariat as the creator of an exploitation-free classless society, on the need for the seizure of political power by the workers class in alliance with all working people, and on the socialization of the means of production as the basis for the socialist transformation of society therefore form the theoretical foundation of the Marxist-Leninist parties' strategy and tactics.

11. Inseparable from the spreading of the whole revolutionary world process in consequence of the victory over Hitler fascism was the socialist transformation of the GDR. It developed as an irrevocable component of the socialist world system. Here too, the workers class and its party proved their ability to lead the society, which Marxism-Leninism had given them. When the unified revolutionary process was initiated on the soil of the GDR, the German revolutionary workers party already could account for a 100-year history, which had begun with the Communist League. A decisive turning-point came when the revolutionary parts of the German proletariat formed the KPD in the fire of the November Revolution.

At the congress that founded the KPD, Rosa Luxemburg remarked: "Today we experience the moment that lets us say: we are again with Marx, under his banner."[8] Under Ernst Thaelmann's leadership, the KPD grew into an experienced Marxist-Leninist mass party. The unification of the KPD and the SPD into the SED in 1946 drew the fundamental lesson from the history of the German workers movement: The workers class can fulfil its historic mission only by overcoming opportunism and by being led by a clearsighted, cohesive and battle-tested Marxist-Leninist party closely linked with the masses.

On the basis of revolutionary working class unity it became possible to establish a broad alliance of all peace-loving and democratic forces and to surmount the supremacy of the haute bourgeoisie and of junkerdom, which unleashed two world wars in our century and produced fascism. In harsh conflict with imperialist reaction and its stooges, the antifascist-democratic transformation was carried out through a unified revolutionary process, the foundations of socialism were laid, and the shaping of the developed socialist society was begun. In alliance with the farmers and the other working people, the working class created the GDR, the socialist German state of workers and farmers, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This was a fundamental turning-point in the history of the German people. When the workers and farmers state was born and the socialist revolution took place in the GDR, socialism found a solid footing in the land of Karl Marx. In the center of Europe, at the frontier between two antagonistic social systems, the GDR is fulfilling its internationalist duty in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states.

III. Karl Marx and the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress

12. During the era of worldwide transition to socialism, the processes of development and the struggles on our globe cannot be isolated from the growing influence which real socialism is exerting on world politics. At the same time, the nature and politics of crisis-ridden imperialism are still affecting international events. As socialism has grown stronger, it has become possible to convert humanity's yearning for peace into action. A fierce conflict is currently being waged in the world between two trends in international politics: on the one hand the strategy which aims to harness the arms race, consolidate peace and detente, and defend the sovereign rights and freedom of the peoples, and, on the other, the strategy which seeks to undermine detente, escalate the arms race, apply a policy of threats and interference in the affairs of socialist countries and repress the liberation struggle.

There is a close connection between social progress and the struggle to preserve peace. Karl Marx demonstrated that the social roots of war lie in the system of exploitation. In the age of capitalism, the bourgeoisie's quest for profits is the main cause of war, which they foster, as Marx wrote, by "playing upon national prejudices" and squandering "in piratical ways, the peoples' blood and treasure."[9] Peace is part of the essence of socialism, for in socialist society there are no classes or strata which can make money out of war preparations, extract profit from armaments or gain from expansion abroad. Over a century has passed since Karl Marx argued "that, in contrast to old society, with its economical miseries and its political delirium, a new society is springing up, whose international rule will be peace because its national ruler will be everywhere the same--labor!"[10] The first act of real socialism upon its birth in 1917 was to publish Lenin's appeal for peace to the peoples and governments of the world, expressing the firm will of the new society to create, preserve and strengthen peace. From that day forth, socialism has been fighting tirelessly for this aim. Real socialism is the highest rung on the ladder of social progress and, at the same time, the main force for peace. The socialist states brought about a change in direction from cold war to international detente with their determined series of initiatives aimed at safeguarding world peace and preventing a nuclear war. The strategic military balance achieved and secured over the last two decades is of major importance for preserving peace. Amongst the purposeful measures with which the Soviet Union is continuing and developing its peace program into the 1980's are steps toward detente and disarmament which apply to both nuclear and conventional weapons. Drawing on its potential and its advantages, real socialism is on the offensive with its active, constructive, judicious foreign policy so as to ensure that the positive trend in world development, the forward march of the forces for peace and social progress, continues to exercise the determinant influence and to consolidate its strength.

13. The 1970's brought further proof of the claim made by Marx and Engels in the "Communist Manifesto" that the bourgeoisie does not know any real way out of its economic crisis, since it overcomes it "by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."[11] The causes for the growing instability of the capitalist economic system are to be found in the aggravation of the basic contradiction in capitalism, i.e. between the social character of production and private capitalist accumulation. The particular interaction now taking place between the general and the cyclical crisis has ushered in a new phase in the general crisis of capitalism. At the basis of the deeply-rooted manifestations of crisis are long-term crisis processes connected with raw materials and energy, currency relations, state finances, and key branches of industry in the imperialist countries, and also the inflation which has persisted for so long. These manifestations are not confined to the economic field, but have entered all areas of political, social, intellectual and cultural life. The cyclical fluctuations in the capitalist economy are becoming more extreme. The world economic order of capitalism has been suffering its deepest and most prolonged tremors since World War II, as a result of the international economic crisis of 1974/75 and the cyclical crisis which broke out in 1980 and which is still not over. One consequence of the combined general and cyclical crisis is a significant slowing-down in the eocnomic growth rate in the capitalist states. Social insecurity is on the increase and is illustrated with special clarity by the rapid rise in unemployment and severe social cutbacks. The attempts of the monopoly bourgeoisie to place more of the burden induced by the crisis and the costs of the arms build-up on the backs of the working people is meeting with increased resistance from broad sections of the population.

14. While socialism brings peace, capitalism is still the source of conflict, confrontation and war. Even today, imperialism is trying to escape from its internal processes of crisis and the limitation of its external positions of power by resorting to more and more aggression and international adventurism. Since the latter half of the 1970's, the most aggressive elements of imperialism, especially in the United States, have been pursuing a strategy based on confrontation and accelerated arms build-up. They want to alter the existing strategic military balance in favor of the United States and NATO. Their idea is to use military superiority to blackmail the socialist states and all progressive forces and to re-establish the hegemony of imperialism, even at the cost of nuclear war.

One important aim of this aggressive policy is to extend imperialist domination of energy resources and sources of raw materials once more and to halt the national liberation movement. At the same time U.S. imperialism hopes to reassert its own unrestricted leadership role in relation to its allies and to knock the competition it is experiencing from other socialist centers out of action. These aims are served by the policy of escalated armament, sanctions and economic boycott. Thus, imperialism is once more showing itself to be a hotbed of aggression, a threat to peace and a barrier to social progress in the world. The historical facts disprove the deliberate bourgeois lie which accuses socialism of responsibility for the deteriorating international situation. They equally expose arguments which seek to apportion a part of the

blame to socialism. Arguments such as these are used consciously or unconsciously to detract attention from the fact that the most aggressive imperialist elements alone carry the blame for the growing tension in the world and to weaken the forces of peace and social progress.

It is only the policies of the most aggressive elements in the United States and other imperialist powers which are responsible for the aggravation of the international situation. It is imperialism alone which is provoking the danger of a nuclear world war.

15. Karl Marx demanded that the working class should be "conscious of its own responsibility, and able to command peace where its would-be masters shout war."[12] "The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working class."[13]

In our age, safeguarding world peace is more bound up than ever with the world historic mission of the working class. Peace, after all, is the decisive condition for the continued existence of humanity and the prime factor in solving all society's other problems. The working class fights to preserve peace alongside all those classes and strata which value peace and actively campaign for it. The broad front in the struggle to preserve peace therefore also recruits its members from all classes and strata of the peoples. A peace movement with historically new dimensions has emerged. The specific historical form which peace has adopted in today's era is peaceful coexistence between socialist and capitalist states. This was defined by Lenin in logical continuation of the ideas of Marx and Engels. Currently, the struggle for peace culminates in the fight for agreements on halting armament, arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of equality and equal security, and above all in the actions to prevent the deployment of U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe. Disarmament is an ideal that has always been fostered by the workers movement and socialism. Marx and Engels saw it all those years ago as a cardinal issue of practical politics. However, as long as aggressive imperialism exists, reliable military protection for socialism is both an absolute necessity and a precondition for peaceful coexistence.

16. Over recent years, the movement composed of the most diversified peace forces has crossed all previous social, political and ideological barriers. Its campaign against the imperialist threat of war has been diverse, imaginative and very broad. Alongside socialism, which operates as a power for peace, the peace movement is turning into a force capable of thwarting the most aggressive elements in imperialism. Many working people have learnt during the course of their struggle against the imperialist arms drive to recognize the connection between preserving peace and securing a social standard of living.

The communists are the most consistent defenders of peace. They are campaigning unreservedly for all who support peace to form a broad alliance and act in unison. As they do this, they show the socioeconomic class roots of armament and war and expose the plans cherished by the most aggressive sections of monopoly capital. The revolutionary workers movement fights to prevent the peace movement from splitting and resolutely opposes any attempts to abuse the peace ideal for counterrevolutionary ends against socialism. Just as Marx once

pilloried those national prejudices with which the ruling classes in those days masked their belligerent foreign policy, so, too, the peace movement today must take a stand against the lie about the "military threat from the Soviet Union" which the whippers-in for NATO's arms build-up use to justify the strategy which theatens detente.

17. The workers class in capitalism is, with its organizations, a mighty force in the struggle for world peace and social progress. As ever, its situation as the exploited majority, its vital interests and aims derive from those same inevitabilities which Karl Marx disclosed in the middle of the last century. The fundamental assertions Marx and Lenin made about the nature of capitalism and the role of the working class are still fully valid, even though there have been many changes in social relations under the conditions of state monopoly capitalism, especially in the wake of the workers movement's own struggle. In the imperialist countries, the workers movement is confronted by a strong, experienced, dangerous enemy who must be taken seriously. The tasks facing the movement range from the struggle for world peace and for the defense of the working and living conditions of working people and their democratic gains through to the ultimate defeat of the capitalist social order.

The communist parties are at the forefront of this struggle. Their determined fight for world peace and social progress expresses the overall interests not only of the working class, but of all progressive and peace-loving humanity. Communists are aware of their increased responsibility and, while preserving their own political identity, they reject every form of sectarianism. They know that the success of the struggle of peace-loving and progressive forces in our day depends on the achievement of united working-class action, and the broad mobilization and militant activity of the masses.

18. Marx revealed the essence of the national and colonial question and demonstrated that the working class in the so-called mother countries and the subjected peoples in the colonies and protectorates share common interests and a common struggle. The working class can only fully free itself if it simultaneously liberates the peoples and nations which its country oppresses. In our era, the peoples' national liberation movement has become a powerful international force, and the imperialist colonial system has collapsed under its weight. The liberated states of Africa, Asia and Latin America are making an important contribution to the struggle for peace, detente, arms limitation and disarmament, against the remnants of colonialism, against neo-colonialism and racism. The majority of them are members of the nonaligned movement, which is continuing to gain influence in solving the major questions faced by our age. Marx held the achievement of national independence to be the first aim in the struggle of all democratic forces in the colonies and dependencies. At the same time, he stressed that independence can only be an expression of human emancipation if it is given a solid foundation as a result of radical socioeconomic transformations. The prospects for the national and social liberation struggle in the liberated countries are intimately connected with the further strengthening of real socialism, the safeguarding of world peace, and an end to the arms race. The success of this struggle depends significantly on the ability of the progressive forces in

these countries to reinforce their own commitment to the preservation of world peace and to cooperate with every other anti-imperialist force, particularly the USSR and the other states in the socialist community.

19. Marx attached decisive importance to the interaction between the national and international factor, and right up till now a correct approach to this has always been a key issue in truly revolutionary politics. For Marx, both the national and the international question were inseparably linked with defining the social nature of the working class and its historic mission. As all our experience up to now testifies, the working class, in carrying out its world historic mission, must pay strict regard to both international factors and specific national and historical conditions. Bearing in mind the international character of the revolutionary struggle and the national character of working-class organization and conditions of struggle, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels formulated the slogan "Working men of all countries, unite!" which has constantly been endowed with fresh relevance in the course of the world revolutionary process. They rejected bourgeois nationalism as much as a disregard for the national idea. They made it clear that, as an internationalist force, the working class is also called upon to bring the truly national interests of its peoples to bear. In this sense, the working class always has to assume a national and an international responsibility.

Marx and Engels defined proletarian internationalism, a basic principle underlying scientific socialism and the struggle of the revolutionary workers movement which pervades every sphere of its theory, ideology and political action. Marx and Engels pointed out the need for national and international alliance with other revolutionary and democratic forces right from the beginning, when they were drawing up the birth certificate of scientific socialism. Today, working under a great variety of conditions and imperatively being faced with common international tasks, the revolutionary forces need more than ever to be united and to march alongside every other progressive and peace-loving force to ensure the survival and the advance of humanity. The guarantee for the further development of the cooperation between communist and workers parties in accordance with the demands of our age derives from common action for common aims in the struggle for peace and social progress, from the commitment to working together and to active solidarity--on the basis of mutual respect and independence--which they share as members of the same class and comrades-in-arms, from the comradely exchange of opinion and from the collective, creative development and enrichment of our Marxist-Leninist theory. The sphere of influence of proletarian internationalism has now spread. Today it covers a significantly broader terrain than simply the international working class, its revolutionary parties and the socialist states and peoples. More and more nonproletarian revolutionary forces, especially social and political movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America, see these principles as the basis for their own internationalist commitments and relations in the struggle for peace, national and social liberation and social progress.

The growing international dimension to production and trade, the solution of such global problems as protecting the natural environment and overcoming underdevelopment and famine, but above all the need to ensure the basis for human existence by preventing a nuclear world war, nowadays demand more

comprehensive cooperation and the united action of all revolutionary, anti-imperialist, democratic and peace-loving forces. True to the legacy from Karl Marx, and in accordance with new tasks in the struggle for peace and social progress, internationalist relations are developing between real socialism and the other main revolutionary currents of our time, between all peace-loving and democratic forces.

IV. Real Socialism--The Realization of Marx' Ideas

20. Real socialism was born in struggle. Only after the most severe class struggle was it possible to wrest power from the bourgeoisie and establish the rule of the working class and its allies. Socialism brought qualitatively new factors to bear on world history. The social and national liberation struggles of the peoples gathered tremendous momentum under its influence. Today, the practical implementation of Marx' ideas, the strength of socialism and the policies of the socialist countries are the backbone of the worldwide struggle for peace and social progress.

In our age, with human civilization threatened more seriously than ever before by imperialism's policy of arms build-up, and with capitalism less able than ever before to find a way out of its own crisis, socialism is proving to be the one social system which can solve the fundamental problems facing society and the individuals within it. Imperialism is trying to use military intervention and war, economic boycott and sanctions to force socialism to its knees. Under these conditions of severe class struggle, a rapid development of the productive forces in socialism has enabled the people to advance in the economic, social and cultural fields. Socialism guarantees a high standard of material security, education, mass cultural activity and the democratic participation of the working peopulation. It has created completely new opportunities for the members of its society to develop by abolishing exploitation, guaranteeing the right to work and other real basic rights and liberties, and replacing competition with comradely cooperation and socialist emulation. One of the most important world historical achievements of socialism is its provision of real freedom and democracy for working people, guaranteed by the economic and political foundations of society. For the first time in history, those who create the social wealth are able to realize their own interests during their work, the most important sphere of human life, and to play an effective part in determining the affairs of their enterprise, the community where they live and society as a whole.

The birth of real socialism gave rise to a society where politics and social practice, ideology, culture and ethics became the supreme expression of human ideals and humanity's aspirations. Led by its Marxist-Leninist party through harsh class struggles, the working class has complied wholly with Marx' intention in overthrowing "all relations in which man is a debased, enslaved, forsaken, despicable being" so that man really can become "the highest being for man."[14] Since the working class can free itself only by eliminating conditions of exploitation in whatever form and the very existence of classes, it becomes the social agent of consistent humanism. By constructing socialism, and later communism, the working class, together with its allies, creates that economic society which, as Marx wrote, "ensures, together with the greatest expansion of the productive forces of social labor, the most complete development of man."[15]

21. The shaping of the developed socialist society in several countries in the socialist community testifies to socialism's great dynamism and its facility for development. In the early 1980's, socialist society is taking the initiative in meeting all the challenges posed by the new decade. It is passing the test of history wherever it is led by a Marxist-Leninist party closely linked with the masses which applies Marxism-Leninism creatively to every new demand or task it faces. The imperialist prophesy of a "crisis in socialism," and the more recent suggestions of a "crisis in Marxism," are no more than ideological reactions to the advances of the forces of social progress. These utterances are intended to diminish the vitality and attraction of real socialism and distract attention from the truly deep and insoluble crisis of capitalism. With the transition to the 1980's, a new phase began in the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism. Whatever form this conflict takes in the course of this present decade, real socialism now has the potential and strength which it needs to wreck imperialism's plans for a crusade and to continue changing the international balance of forces in its favor.

22. Real socialism was born out of the hitherto deepest process of revolutionary transformation in history, carried out by the popular masses themselves under the leadership of the working class and its party: the socialist revolution, the basic features of which were first oulined by Marx. Ever since the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution, it has been proven again and again in many other countries, including the GDR, that the transition from capitalism to socialism can only be completed successfully if the general inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and socialist construction are put into practice and are applied creatively to the specific historical conditions and national characteristics of each particular situation. Because of the differences in historical and national conditions in the various countries which have been constructing socialism, the revolutionary process has certainly become more diverse, and different countries have needed shorter or longer periods to undergo the various individual phases. This makes it all the more important to respect the dialectical relationship between the universal inevitabilities of socialist revolution and socialist construction and specific historical conditions. The historical experience of all socialist countries illustrates that, if society is going to be entirely refashioned, the working class must conquer power, the socialist state must be constantly strengthened and socialist democracy must develop. Socialist production relations must prevail in every sphere of the national economy, with the productive forces and the planned socialist economy making rapid progress. This requires a firm alliance between the working class and the farming community, the intelligentsia and other working people.

The socialist revolution demands a consistent application of the principles of proletarian internationalism. The transformation of social relations is accompanied by a revolution in the sphere of culture and ideology, in which Marxism-Leninism becomes the dominant ideology. Just as the historic step into socialism can only be taken in most severe class struggle, so the gains of socialism must then be defended against all counterrevolutionary attacks from within and without. The fundamental inevitabilities of socialist construction and socialist revolution continue to apply, even in the period when the developed socialist society is being shaped. Consistent heed to these inevitabilities guarantees the stability of socialism.

23. In the concept of the developed socialist society, real socialism today has a social strategy, founded in theory and tested in practice, for solving its present tasks on the road to communism. It is the product of the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries in their joint creative application of the ideas and teachings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V. I. Lenin. The theory of the developed socialist society has fundamental strategic significance. It is one of the most important achievements in the current creative development of Marxism-Leninism. It composes the theoretical foundation for the continued shaping of socialism in keeping with world historical conditions today and tomorrow, which are marked above all by the escalated economic, political, ideological and military confrontation emanating from the most aggressive elements and U.S. imperialism in particular, by a new stage in the conflict between socialism and imperialism, and by radical changes in the internal and external reproduction conditions in the national economy. This theory provides the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries with an opportunity to solve such basic present-day problems as safeguarding peace, pressing ahead with the technological revolution, stimulating dynamic eoconomic growth, guaranteeing work, education, health care and comprehensive material security and making rational use of natural resources while protecting the environment, all to the benefit of the working class and other working people.

The Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist community of states understand the shaping of the developed socialist society as a long-term and inevitable process in the development of communist society, in the course of which basic conditions must be created for the gradual transition to communism. This is a historical process involving deep qualitative and quantitative political, economic, social and cultural changes, during which socialism brings its own advantages and dynamic forces into play. This is the stage when history places Lenin's demand squarely on the agenda: "In the last analysis, labor productivity is the most important, the principal thing, for the victory of the new social system. . . . Capitalism can be utterly vanquished, and will be utterly vanquished, by socialism creating a new and much higher labor productivity."[16] Shaping developed socialism is characterized by an inseparable interrelationship between economic and social policies, a comprehensive transition to intensively expanded reproduction, an organic link-up between the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialist society, greater social activity, collective methods and awareness on the part of the working people, and the growing leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party. In this process, the socialist national culture is developed in every respect and the general level of education and cultural life is raised. Socialist culture, which is inspired by the aims and ideals of the working class and absorbs the progressive heritage of cultural history up to the present, is a decisive factor in social progress. It encourages people to give more through their work, to become more active in the community and to adopt a socialist lifestyle. It is a powerful spur to the dissemination of socialist ideology, to vocational and political education, and to the cultivation and satisfaction of versatile intellectual and aesthetic needs. The increase in education potential is being translated more and more into a qualitative growth factor for the socialist community.

24. The SED has made a constructive contribution to elaborating and substantiating the concept of developed socialism. In creatively applying the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to specific conditions in the GDR, it has provided practical proof of the fact that--in a highly developed industrial country, too--socialism is the only way to solve the vital problems of the working people and guarantee social progress. The GDR is a stable factor in the international class struggle and the fight for peace, thanks to the party's purposeful policy of constantly raising the people's material and cultural standards of living on the basis of the dynamic development of the productive forces. The close links between the SED and the masses are the result of its clear Marxist-Leninist strategy. The SED has always seen political education as the main field of party work and pays great attention to the systematic dissemination of the scientific world-outlook of the working class. The SED is proving itself to be a worthy guardian of the Marxist heritage.

The 10th SED Congress drew up a scientifically founded social strategy for the 1980's based on a thorough analysis of the new internal and external conditions for socialist development. Congress decided to press ahead with the interrelated economic and social policies contained in the main task, in spite of the altered conditions. Comprehensive production intensification will be used to promote rapid, steady economic growth, which will ensure continued economic and social progress. The purposeful utilization of the advantages of socialist production is intended to make the achievements of science and technology far more effective in the productive sphere. Greater economic efficiency, in this process, combines more and more closely with progress in the social, intellectual-cultural and political-ideological fields. Important objectives here are the gradual elimination of differences in urban and rural working and living conditions, and the full use of the dynamic forces brought to bear by cooperative ownership and cooperative democracy. If all spheres of social life are to develop successfully, it is absolutely imperative that production and the other areas of economic activity should expand, improve in quality and raise their efficiency. At the same time, active feedback from the socialist way of life and stronger socialist consciousness into economic activity is a crucial factor enabling the dynamic forces of economic and social progress to be released to the fullest.

One indispensable prerequisite for socialism to consolidate its all-round position in the struggle to preserve world peace lies in boosting its economic capacity by means of a transition to intensively expanded reproduction. This represents an important contribution to shifting the balance of forces further in favor of the forces of peace so as to successfully counter the confrontation course steered by the most aggressive elements within imperialism, thwart imperialism's economic warfare against socialism and maintain peace. In our age, the economy has become the principal arena of international class conflict. The basic tasks involved in continuing to implement the concept of developed socialism can only be carried out by the united efforts of the countries in the socialist community. That is why the SED is working for even deeper all-round cooperation, especially in socialist economic integration.

25. The economic strategy for the 1980's, as adopted by the 10th party congress, has provided the SED with a comprehensive blueprint for the transition to an intensively expanded reproduction of the national economy. It is based, in principle, on fundamental theoretical perceptions originally formulated by Marx, notably in his major work, "Das Kapital," and is an example of a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory of reproduction under the concrete conditions prevailing in the GDR. Determinant trends in the development of the productive forces, such as microelectronics, robot technology and modern methods of processing raw materials and generating energy, are closely linked in substance with the fundamental conditions and demands which underlie the organization of the national economic reproduction process. The party organizes the struggle to reduce the consumption of energy and materials, to make careful use of all natural resources and to cut the input of live labor--expressed by cutbacks in working hours and jobs. It channels the initiative of working people toward a highly efficient utilization of basic assets and investments. Determined efforts are being undertaken to raise product quality and increase export power. The potential offered by production, science and education is sufficient as a basis for achieving the necessary increase in the GDR's economic capacity. The demands now being made on working people's creativity are greater than ever before in history. This calls for qualitative improvements in political education everywhere and the encouragement of appropriate attitudes and behavior.

26. Scientific-technical progress has become the decisive source of economic growth. For this reason the SED is working toward "another step forward in combining the advantages of socialism with the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution."[17] An efficient scientific-technical potential has been created, and the alliance between the working class and the scientific-technical intelligentsia has been strengthened. Spending on science, technology and education has been increased considerably, in accordance with the demands of the scientific-technical revolution. Establishing and developing combines in industry, construction and other sectors is a vital prerequisite for establishing a close relationship between science, technology, production and sales. Given the important and growing role which science and technology are playing in the international class struggle, the very highest international standards are the only yardstick we can afford to adopt for our scientific-technical achievements. That is why it is necessary to obtain a significant increase in economic returns from science and technology and to ensure it makes a greater contribution to raising productivity and efficiency. Scientific-technical progress in imperialism goes hand in hand with manifestations of crisis, deep social contradictions and erosion of social achievements. Socialism proves its historical superiority yet again by purposefully converting scientific-technical progress into economic and social progress that serves the interests of the working people. It guarantees full employment, improvements in working and living conditions, free health care, free access to every stage of education and a broad social network of social security.

27. Steady dynamic economic growth is an essential condition for securing the gains socialism has already made and building on them step by step. This process confirms Karl Marx' prediction that, once the exploitative capitalist

order has been abolished, every class and stratum is able to work for economic and social progress because their basic interests coincide. The continuing creation, consolidation and development of harmony between social, collective and individual interests is the fundamental pattern for the movement of the qualitatively new contradictions in socialism and simultaneously the path along which these propel social progress. The SED is fighting to mobilize every dynamic force within socialism for high performance growth. One crucial means for achieving this is the consistent application of the socialist performance principle: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work!" Karl Marx formulated this as a principle of socialist society and substantiated it with theory in the "Critique of the Gotha Program." There is a close link between the policy which the party has adopted in its main task and its purposive ideological work. By taking this into account, the dynamic forces in socialism can be unfolded along a broad front and the bonds between the party and the working class and all working people can be strengthened. This confidence which the party and the people express in each other is proving to be a factor for social and political stability in our society and an important impulse for further social progress, particularly in view of the tougher challenges posed by the 1980's.

28. All the experience of our era fully confirms Marx' fundamental conclusion that the working class, more than anything else, needs a revolutionary party "to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and of its ultimate goal: the abolition of classes."[18] Only with a party guided by scientific socialism was the working class in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries able to tackle its world historic mission and carry it out step by step. Only a party which is equal in both theory and practice to the problems of its time, which understands how to make creative use of the general inevitabilities and is linked firmly with the masses can guarantee success in accomplishing the tasks posed in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism and carry forward the homogeneous revolutionary process by establishing developed socialism.

Like the CPSU and other communist parties in the socialist countries, the SED starts from the view that the shaping of the developed socialist society makes greater demands on the leadership role of the party and that its responsibility for the development of socialist society is increasing. In order to meet these new conditions and demands and translate the advantages of socialism into practical politics, there must be further qualitative improvements in the political leadership which the party gives to social processes. It is in this sense that the 10th SED Congress set the aim of ensuring that in every collective unit right down to enterprise departments and work teams, comrades adhere to the principles of collective methods, personal responsibility, inner-party democracy and categorical loyalty to party decisions. This should serve to inspire initiative for a high growth in efficiency. The SED focuses maximum attention on developing the political consciousness of the working people and encouraging their activities and their commitment to performance. Reinforcing the close ties between the party and the people is an inalienable principle which underlies party policy as a whole. "Drawing on constant consultation with the working people and their wealth of experience, our party marches onward, teaching the masses and learning from them at one and the same time."[19]

29. Today, the name of Karl Marx is coupled in the minds of hundreds of thousands of people all over the world with their prospects for a life in peace, material security and free development of their creative abilities. The name of Karl Marx is coupled by the popular masses with their revolutionary struggle to bring humanitarian ideals out of the realms of utopian dreams and yearnings and into the realms of historical reality. The vitality of the revolutionary theory elaborated by Marx and Engels and further developed by Lenin runs strong and deep, for Marxism-Leninism starts from objective inevitabilities and real conditions and deduces from these its realistic approach to achieving the aims that are realizable at any one given stage. All other ideologies, whether bourgeois, social reformist or ultra-leftist, deny the laws of social development. That is why their sociopolitical strategies are doomed to fail. Marxism-Leninism places its trust in the creative potential of the popular masses as the subject of history. Thanks to their scientific policies, the Marxist-Leninist parties set free the revolutionary potential of the masses and give them the consciousness and the organization which they need as weapons in their victorious struggle for peace, social progress and a life of human dignity in a society free from exploitation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Friedrich Engels, "Speech at the Graveside of Karl Marx," Marx/Engels. "Werke" (Works) [hereinafter referred to as MEW], Vol 19, p 336.

2. V. I. Lenin, "The Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx," "Werke," Vol 18, p 576.

3. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol I, MEW, Vol 23, p 791.

4. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," MEW, Vol 4, p 481.

5. Karl Marx, "The Civil War in France," MEW, Vol 17, p 342.

6. Friedrich Engels, "Speech at a Social Democratic Meeting in Vienna, 14 September 1893," MEW, Vol 22, p 410.

7. V. I. Lenin, op. cit., p 578.

8. "Protokoll des Gruendungsparteitages der Kommunistischen Partei Deutschlands" (KPD Founding Congress Proceedings), Berlin, 1972, p 202.

9. Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association," MEW, Vol 16, p 13.

10. Karl Marx, "First Address of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War," MEW, Vol 17, p 7.

11. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, op. cit., loc. cit., p 468.

12. Karl Marx, "Address to the National Labor Union of the United States," MEW, Vol 16, pp 356-357.

13. Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address . . .," op. cit., loc. cit.

14. Karl Marx, "On the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law," MEW, Vol 1, p 385.

15. Karl Marx, "Letter to the Editorial Board of OTETCHESTVENNIYE ZAPISKI," MEW, Vol 19, p 111.

16. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, p 416.

17. "Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (Tenth SED Congress Proceedings), Vol 1, Berlin, 1981, p 65.

18. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Resolutions of the General Congress at the Hague, 2-7 September 1872," MEW, Vol 18, p 149.

19. "Protokoll der Verhandlungen . . .," op. cit., Vol 1, p 132.

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SED'S PUBLISHING ACTIVITIES IN 1983 KARL MARX YEAR DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 1, Jan 83 (signed to press 13 Dec 82) pp 109-110

['Information' feature report by Dr Guenter Hennig, candidate member, SED Central Auditing Commission; director, Dietz publishing house, East Berlin: "Publications of the Dietz Publishing House in the Karl Marx Year"]

[Text] The publishing activity of our party publishing house and the profile of the literature it is going to publish in 1983 bear the stamp of the revolutionary and scientist Karl Marx and his world-transforming doctrine. On the occasion of his 165th birthday and the 100th anniversary of his death, the life, work and achievements of the founder of scientific socialism will receive their proper due. Through taking issue with bourgeois distortions of the Marxist doctrine, especially with the revisionist attempts at separating Marxism from Leninism, we are going to demonstrate the pertinence and vitality of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the class struggle of our time, for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, and the preservation and creative application of the Marxist legacy by our party.

More than at other times, therefore, will the spotlight be placed on the publication of the works by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V. I. Lenin and on publications about Karl Marx. The complete Marx-Engels edition (MEGA) will continue with three volumes (Section II, Volume 5, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, and Section IV, Volumes 6 and 7). To supplement the Marx-Engels working edition known for many years, the Karl Marx 1857/1858 Economic Manuscripts will come out as Volume 42, for instance. It will contain, in addition to the "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy," already published as a separate volume in the 1953 Marx Year, also the introduction to the "Outlines . . ." and the sketch, "Bastiat and Carey," and a comprehensive index.

An unusual documentary volume to come out in 1983 is devoted to the 100th anniversary of Karl Marx' death. This book is being prepared by the Marxism-Leninism institutes of the CPSU and the SED central committees and will contain tributes and obituaries written on the occasion of Karl Marx' and Friedrich Engels' deaths. It will demonstrate how deeply Marxism was already rooted within the international workers movement in the late 19th century.

Also to be noted is a new publication by Heinrich Gemkow, "In memoriam Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels," which will appear in the history series of our publishing house. The author sketches in a popular vein the triumphant march of Karl Marx' doctrine after his death. Along with it he also deals with the importance of anniversaries in the theoretical and practical work of our party as of other fraternal parties.

Publications on the genesis of "Das Kapital," on the formation of the materialist conception of history, on the image of history in Marx, Engels and Lenin, on Marx' and Engels' contributions to aesthetics, a new edition of the book, "Die Toechter von Marx" (The Daughters of Marx) and introductions to the works of Marx and Engels complete these literary offerings for the Karl Marx Year.

In line with its political and publication principles, Dietz publishing house will assist also in 1983 our party's mass political work by interesting publications and publish books and brochures on the basic issues of scientific socialism, on important historic events and persons, on ideological problems and on pertinent political processes. A prominent place will again be assigned to publishing the materials of the SED Central Committee sessions, to the materials of the international consultations and conferences of the communist and workers parties, and to the speeches and essays of leading comrades of our party and of fraternal parties. There will come out this year, for instance, volume 8 of the speeches and essays of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, which will deal with the period from the 10th party congress till June 1982.

Our publishing house will continue to aim its efforts at the development of massively effective forms of publications. That is reflected by the scope of its pocket book, dictionary, textbook and brochures program on pertinent questions of party work and international development. We may but mention here the "Buecherei des Marxismus-Leninismus," the series "ABC des Marxismus-Leninismus," the introductions, ""Einfuehrungen in die Werke von Marx, Engels und Lenin," the pocketbook series "Geschichte" (History), "Grundfragen der marxistisch-leninistischen Philosophie" (Principles of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy), "Wissenschaftlicher Kommunismus -- Theorie und Praxis" (Scientific Communism -- Theory and Practice), "Soziologie"; the series "Der Parteiarbeiter" (The Party Worker), "Dietz aktuell," "Oekonomie aktuell," and "Oekonomische Lehrhefte."

A History Dictionary will also be published in 1983 as well as the fourth revised edition of the renowned "Kleines politisches Woerterbuch" (Small Political Dictionary).

Publications on the role of the Marxist-Leninist party and on the continued shaping of the developed socialist society are thematic priorities for the Karl Marx Year. For example, the following themes are in preparation: What is a Marxist-Leninist party? What is socialism? What makes socialism superior? Freedom, democracy, basic rights and duties in socialism; and socialism and ethics.

Many publications will explain our party's economic strategy and thus help enforce it in everyday work. That includes topics such as economic growth and the

energy base; basic problems in the intensification of agriculture; economics and national defense; questions of socialist integration from the vantage point of the combines.

To conform with the growing interest in literature on international issues, the following titles are in preparation: The impulses for the revolutionary world process; the communists and their cooperation: the strategy of peace against the strategy of confrontation; the antimonopolist struggle--experiences, problems, perspectives; ideology in the developing countries.

Much in demand are publications on history and on great personalities of the German and international workers movement. There are titles like: The emergence of the KPD in the struggle against imperialism and opportunism; the trial of the 1933 Reichstag fire; World War II (1939-1945); antifascist resistance in the last months of World War II; Georgi Plekhanov biography; Rosa Luxemburg's collection of letters; Antonio Labriola, a biography and the evolution of his theoretical views; a school for rebels--Fidel Castro and his fellow-combatants during their detention on the Isla de Pinos. All these publications will help deepen the knowledge of history and historical awareness.

The profile of the literature in the Karl Marx Year 1983 is oriented primarily to the requirements arising for the work of our party from the national and international situation. So our efforts are mainly aimed at providing, by the publications of the classical authors of Marxism-Leninism, all those with guidelines for creative action who are responsible for solving the task of the 1983 plan year--and that means all working people, with the communists in front. We also honor the revolutionary and scientist Karl Marx when we, guided by his world-transforming doctrine, make all of us derive benefit and achieve new successes in the work for the all-round strengthening of the GDR and in the struggle for the defense of peace.

By the purposeful implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, in the struggle for permanent peace, and through consistently carrying on the course of unity of economic and social policy, that engages the interests of the people, we shall also furnish more practical evidence for that only Marxism-Leninism has universal answers for the basic problems of our time and is the reliable compass in the struggle for socialism, peace and social progress. Through its multifaceted profile of party literature, Dietz publishing house has an active share in the successful development of socialism in our country and thus helps deepen the knowledge that the founding and development of the GDR also prove the vitality, relevance and universality of the doctrine by Kal Marx in his own homeland.

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SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 1, Jan 83 (signed to press 13 Dec 82) 'Resumes' addendum

For a Secure Future on Our Continent

[Summary of 'Europe--No Euroshima!' feature article by Ernst Krabatsch, main department chief, GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs; pp 28-36]

> [Text] Proceeding from the aggravation of the international situation in consequence of the stepped-up confrontation and armaments policy by world imperialism's most aggressive forces--and while coming to grips with their machinations--the article analyzes the struggle by the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community for arms limitation and disarmament based on the principle of equal security, their desire to continue the CSCE process, and their readiness for constructive dialogue, and for equal and mutual advantageous cooperation, especially in the economic field.

Who Threatens and Protects Peace?

[Summary of 'Europe--No Euroshima!' feature article by Dr Guenter Kalex, economist, sector chief, SED Central Committee; pp 37-43]

> [Text] The "crusaders" in the United States and their allies in other NATO countries want to turn 1983 into the "missile year." What with all their tactics of evasion, facts demonstrate that Washington, with contempt for the will of the peoples, is stepping up the arms buildup and gambles on nuclear blackmail and a "winnable" war. The USSR and the states in the socialist community oppose that course by their consistent peace policy and their concrete disarmament proposals. Yet, on behalf of safeguarding peace, they will know how to react effectively and in time to threats and to steps bent on destroying the military equilibrium.

Military Balance and Securing Peace

[Summary of 'Europe--No Euroshima!' feature article by Dr Werner Huebner, colonel, sector chief, SED Central Committee; pp 44-50]

> [Text] The military equilibrium socialism has achieved with imperialism erects an effective barrier against the aggressive designs of the United States and NATO and is an important new factor of quality in the strategy of the struggle for preventing nuclear world war and for the development of social progress. Protecting this equilibrium against the designs of the most reactionary circles of world imperialism to achieve military superiority, and securing it at an increasingly lower level until finally achieving disarmament remains an inextricable component of the struggle for permanent peace.

Ideological Rearmament in Service of Anticommunist 'Crusade'

[Summary of 'Europe--No Euroshima!' feature article by Dr Peter Stechmesser, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 51-57]

> [Text] That "crusade for democracy" which the most aggressive imperialist circles have proclaimed--is that inspired by a confidence in superior ideological positions in the struggle against socialism, as its instigators would suggest? The triumphant march of Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice versus the backgrounds for the clearly ideological policy focus of the Reagan administration. The acute dangers arising for all peoples, for peace, peaceful coexistence and ideological struggle emanating from the "crusade" against communism and from the psychological warfare that is part of it.

Motivate and Mobilize to Attain Highest Performance Level!

[Summary of article by Dr Peter Kolbe, economist, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 60-67]

> [Text] Highest demands are made for decisively improving our economic efficiency in the Karl Marx Year. What are the consequences of it for the substance and style of ideological work? What demands arise from the ambitious 1983 planning targets for improving the quality and effectiveness of our party's political mass activity? How are we to use the experiences of the best workers to shape firm campaign positions in the work collectives and motivate and mobilize everywhere for exemplary deeds?

Time Saving in Research and Development as Political-Ideological Task

[Summary of article by Horst Enders, engineer, party secretary, Research Center, VEB Carl Zeiss Combine, Jena; pp 68-73]

[Text] What are the party organizations of the Research Center in the Carl Zeiss Combine, Jena, concentrating on after the fifth SED Central Committee session, in their political-ideological work so as to achieve a greater economic benefit from science and technology in the combine? How are the necessary quality criteria enforced for scientific-technical and economic tasks, how is greater attention given to the time factor? What is done to strengthen the sense of responsibility in each and induce him for high performance dedication and creative work?

High Standards for Product Quality

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Beyer and Dr Hilmar Schmidt, economists, research program director and lecturer, respectively, at Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 74-79]

[Text] Top quality of products--exceedingly important for sales opportunities and price advantages on the world market--increasingly depends on quality criteria like a long working life, high functionality, a low rate of repair requirements and a favorable input-output ratio. It is necessary to create better prerequisites for putting new products with such features into production and to ensure high quality guarantees in mass production. The efforts on behalf of quality require more strenuous economic operations as well as a sense of public responsibility and effective moral and material inducement.

Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in Forefront of Struggle Against Fascism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 80-87]

[Text] When in the early 1930's the most aggressive circles of German monopoly capital turned toward erecting a fascist dictatorship, the KPD proved the most consistent and decisive force of the antifascist resistance. It was the only party that spared no efforts and sacrifices to bar the way to fascism, pointing the way for the German people to halt the fascist danger through its struggle for a united front of the working class, for a broad antifascist mass movement.

The World Historic Victory of the Soviet Army at Stalingrad

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Olaf Groehler, director, German History 1917-1945 Program, Central Institute for History, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 88-93]

[Text] The world historic victory of the Soviet Army over the fascist aggressor at Stalingrad, which initiated the fundamental turn in the course of World War II in Europe, manifested the invincible strength of socialism and became the symbol of the peoples' struggle for a world of human dignity without war or fascism. The main lesson from the battle at Stalingrad today can only be to do everything to thwart that imperialist policy that threatens the survival of mankind by weapons of nuclear mass destruction.

Ideological-Ethical Aspects of Modern Medicine

[Summary of article by Prof Guenter Baust, MD, director, Clinic for Anesthesiology and Intensive Therapy, medical faculty, Martin Luther University, Halle-Wittenberg; and Dr Uwe Koerner, staff employee, GDR Academy of Advanced Medical Training; pp 94-100]

[Text] Through the scientific-technical progress, modern medicine has acquired new means and procedures for fighting against diseases and protecting life. Their application also is tied up with new kinds of problems which in most cases also touch on ideological-ethical issues. They include: the demand made on medicine and one's own responsibility for health in our society; high specialized qualifications and political-moral maturity on the part of the physician as an important condition for applying scientific-technical developments for the good of man; illness, suffering and death.

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SECURITY SERVICE MANIPULATION OF MAIL DETAILED

Bangkok BANGKOK POST in English 7 Feb 83 p 4

[FPI News Service report from Bonn by Gudrun Hassinen: "Going Through the Mail in East Germany." A translation of a West German review of Karl Wilhelm Fricke's book, "Die DDR-Staatssicherheit" (GDR State Security), cited below, is published in JPRS 82564, 30 Dec 82, No 2090 of this series, pp 96-99]

[Text] MILLIONS of letters, postcards, parcels and packages flow from West to East Germany and from East to West Germany in the holiday season.

It has become normal throughout the years that greetings sent from Flensburg in northern West Germany to Schwerin in northern East Germany or from West to East Berlin take as much as six to eight days to arrive. No one takes notice of it any more. It has become as normal as the usual one day a letter takes to be delivered over many times the distance, for example, between Hamburg and Munich within West Germany.

Although the Postal Service in East Germay is not among the modern European ones, the West-East News Agency (WONA) recently wrote in West Germany, this is not the main cause of the delays. Even overtime work by its staff would not speed up the mail because of the existence of "Department 12" in each of the 70 or so main post offices.

The 1,200 (at least) full-time staff of Department 12 wear post office uniforms but work under Department M of the Ministry for State Security (MFS).

Several hundred other MFS staff work in the mail control rooms of post offices in harbour, industrial or crossing-point towns. Often they are the wives of officers of the State Security Service (SSD).

In spite of Article 31 of the East German constitution (guaranteeing the inviolability of the post and telecommunications privacy), the MFS staff sorts through the letters, X-rays them, opens them, reads them, evaluates them or takes photocopies and finally closes them again with glue. WONA reported.

Once this preliminary work is done, the real job begins. Usually, the letter is already on the way to its addressee when the knowledge gained from it is fed into an SSD computer.

Since East Germany now possesses a Western-made data processing machine, it is no longer dependent on the time-consuming index card system previously used. Thanks to this computer, SSD specialists can only smile at East German senders who put the wrong return address, or none at all, on their envelops, WONA said.

The Western address is fed into the computer, and within a few minutes the computer names all East German writing partners of that address.

The process is described in a recently-published book titled "The GDR State Security," by Karl Wilhelm Fricke of Cologne Radio.

Through this system, the range of possible senders is so evident that identification is an easy matter for the SSD.

Critical remarks in letters to

Western addresses rarely have direct consequences for the sender any more. But they are still assessed in the computer, and "many a professional career fails without the person concerned ever learning why," according to Fricke's book.

If a letter contains incriminating or otherwise interesting material for the SSD, it is held for a while and presented to the director of the local Department 12.

Very seldom is a letter confiscated. Usually, it is photocopied and then sent on as if nothing had happened. But the incriminating file grows in the SSD register until the authorities one day decide to act — to the total surprise of the person concerned.

This is also true for the hundreds of thousands of East German citizens with "Westkontaktverbot" (prohibition to have any contact with the West), even when they have written about completely harmless matters to a grandfather or brother-in-law in West Germany.

Of course, not every letter to the West passes through the hands of the SSD controllers — except for the permanently or temporarily watched addresses, which are posted on big boards on the walls of the control rooms. But spot-checking is extensive.

In special political situations, or sometimes without clear reasons, the entry of mail from East Germany to the West slumps suddenly.

"Then they East (German officials) open every letter; even the mail from East Berlin to West Berlin first goes to Leipzig," said an informed West Berlin postal officer. Leipzig, a town in the south of East Germany, has an especially efficient mail control centre.

In addition to the mail surveillance system, there is also strict telephone control. Again, the Ministry for State Security does not operate openly but through Department "O."

Although there are legal prohibitions against tapping telephones, socialist realities are quite different from the law. Even public telephone booths are often connected to listening devices, according to Fricke. At local post offices, it is routine that callers' and receivers' addresses are noted.

The control centre for calls abroad is in an underground building near Potsdam. Not far from it, the KGB has its listening post for East Germany, East and West Berlin. In both places, countless metres of tape run through the recording machines daily.

When sending parcels, East Germans need to present identity cards, that is, their addresses are always checked — against the address put on the parcel.

If the parcel is destined for the West, it first goes to one of the postal Customs offices, manned by staff of the MFS's Department "PZF" (Post-Customs-Search). Parcels coming from the West also go through their hands.

Still unclear in the West is the purpose of branch "F" of this department. It is assumed that it is responsible for finding those post and Customs officers who steal or embezzle Western packages. Based on East German Press reports, it appears that this happens frequently.

All information from the three MFS departments "M," "O" and "PZE" is collected, stored in a central computer and compared with information that East Germans must give when they apply for a visit to the West.

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NEW APC IN SERVICE WITH GROUND FORCES

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 1, 1983 (signed to press 27 Dec 82) p 8

['Science and Technology' feature article by Maj Bernd Schilling: "SPW-70--More Protection, More Power"]

[Text] It is only after taking a second look that one recognizes the four-axle combat vehicle of the motorized infantry to be the SPW-70 armored personnel carrier, for there is a close relationship with the 60PB, which has been proving its worth for years in our armed forces as well: the eight voluminous wheels and essentially also the elongated tank hull as well as the turret equipped with one 14.5 mm and one 7.62 mm machine gun have been retained.

The advantage of its further development by the Soviet defense industry consists particularly in the greatly improved protective properties and in greater mobility.

With the SPW-70 armored personnel carrier, the motorized infantrymen are getting a vehicle which is capable of accelerating even on inclines of up to 15 degrees due to a 46 kw performance capacity increase to a total of 177 kw (two motors with 88.5 kw each). A low center of gravity determined by a vehicle height which is 185 mm lower than that of the SPW-60PB facilitates secure handling of the vehicle when negotiating curves. In the terrain, the driving characteristics are also more advantageous than those of its predecessor. For instance, short ground undulations can be negotiated with undiminished speed. The driver is in a position to reduce the internal tire pressure via a quick-release device. With the thus increased tire-surface contact area the specific ground pressure of the combat vehicle is reduced and difficult terrain sectors (mud, sand, snow, and so forth) can be negotiated from a mobile situation.

In water, the SPW-70 armored personnel carrier is able to advance in two different ways: either its efficient water-jet driving mechanism with a thrust of 11,000 N provides it with a speed of up to 10 km/h (in this connection even strong currents do not cause it to drift off), or the water obstacle is overcome through wheel propulsion using the third gear. The reduced height of the tank hull, the more sloping armor plate, as well as the reinforced frontal armor (which, for protection of the front wheels, was brought down lower than

that of the SP-60PB) and the reduced number of welding seams provide increased protection against infantry weapons. In addition, exit hatches installed on both sides between the second and third axles make possible protected mounting and dismounting of the motorized infantrymen in combat.

In radioactively or chemically contaminated terrain, the protective ventilation system goes into effect. The engine compartment is equipped with an automatic or semiautomatic fire-extinguishing system. As in the case of the SPW-60PB, the SPW-70 armored personnel carrier serves a motorized infantry unit as a "rolling fortress" on the battlefield. Six motorized infantrymen sit back-to-back on a center bench between the turret and the engine compartment bulkhead. They are in a position to fire their submachine guns and light machine guns from firing hatches. Two additional infantrymen occupy individual seats behind the commander and behind the driver, respectively. The center bench can be converted into six berths. The driver and the commander reach their places via entry hatches directly in front of the turret. The work of the armed personnel carrier drivers has been facilitated through a multitude of hydraulic and electrical control devices.

The SPW-70 armored personnel carrier (above) compared with the SPW-60PB. Photos by mt/Brabandt, VA/Copenhagen.

WEST GERMAN MANAGEMENT CONSULTANT INDICTED AS GDR SPY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 4, 24 Jan 83 p 99

[Unattributed article: "Espionage: 'Reg' and 'Wille'--A Management Consultant Is To Be Sentenced for Spying for the GDR, on the Basis of Meager Evidence and a Controversial Statute"]

[Text] Everything was as usual when Helmut Willinger said goodby to his wife in Amsterdam in the morning.

The owner of the management consulting firm "Hewin Incorporation" intended to take a business trip to Duesseldorf and West Berlin and then return to Holland, but Duesseldorf turned out to be his final destination, for when Willinger disembarked from the aircraft there at not quite 1400 hours on 11 January 1982, he was arrested by two gentlemen of the Federal Criminal Police Bureau (BKA).

An hour and a half before, BKA officers accompanied by Dutch police had started to search Willinger's home and office, telling his wife, Micheline Willinger, that there was a warrant of arrest out for her husband because he was suspected of having "engaged in intelligence activity." Mrs Willinger recalls that she "thought it had to be a question of mistaken identity."

The BKA and the Duesseldorf prosecutor think otherwise. For a year now, Willinger, who is a German citizen but grew up in Holland and has spent most of his life there, has been in detention pending trial. He is being charged with having maintained contacts with the GDR intelligence service, the Ministry for State Security (MfS), since 1974.

According to the statement by Prosecutor Horst Rosenbaum at the opening of the trial before the Criminal Division of the Duesseldorf Higher Regional Court on Thursday of last week [20 January 1983], Willinger passed summaries of research results "predominantly from the field of chemistry and petrochemistry" to East Berlin. He is alleged to have supplied his MfS contacts with a large number of studies published in the United States on economic and military topics, and this is a violation of article 99 of the penal code.

According to this provision--a subject of dispute for years--a person "engaging in intelligence activity, on behalf of the intelligence service of a foreign power against the Federal Republic of Germany, directed toward imparting or supplying facts, objects or information," or a person "declaring himself willing" to do so, may be sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment.

According to the prosecution, Willinger went to East Berlin "by air" 8 to 10 times a year, where he met with his contacts in a conspiratorial apartment and in the Metropol Hotel. The management consultant is alleged not only to have made DM 300,000 but to have used cover names--"Reg" and "Wille."

The BKA had come across the cover name of Wille when GDR defector and MfS officer Werner Stiller had brought a list of agents to the Federal Republic in 1979. According to it, agent Wille had supplied military reports of the U.S. publisher "DMS" to the East Germans since 1974. In the view of an FRG intelligence service expert, these documents were "also highly significant in a military respect" as far as the GDR was concerned. He thinks the trial is as good as over, saying: "The chances are he will be found guilty."

Yet there is sparse evidence of Willinger having connected business with espionage; attorney Wolfgang Nelles has his doubts.

By the time that Willinger had been placed in detention pending trial, Nelles was already preparing the defense of his client Eduard Ries, also imprisoned on suspicion of intelligence activity. Ries too is alleged to have supplied DMS reports to East Berlin under the cover name of Wille.

But soon there was no mention of that any more. When Nelles was permitted to examine the files some months later, the word suddenly was that Ries had supplied the Soviet KGB without any cover name. "It surely would be embarrassing if one could not find a suitable intelligence service," Nelles remarks.

Besides, says the attorney from Dueren, the U.S. DMS reports are not by any means anything sensational as far as military policy is concerned: "It is a question of descriptions of commercial products at a popular-science level." Several of these documents, stated DMS manager Henry Heydt Jr at the Ries trial in Frankfurt, had been sent out to about 90 private persons in Washington and surroundings alone.

Yet Ries was sentenced to 2 years and 10 months in prison last fall. According to article 99, it suffices if the information is of interest to the intelligence service.

And so Willinger's chances of being declared not guilty are also small. He does not deny having sold studies and research reports to the GDR, but he rejects the charge that he traded the material to the intelligence service, saying that his contacts were limited to employees of the Ministry for Foreign Trade and the Ministry for Science and Technology. There had been no reason to classify them as intelligence people; "they did not ask any funny questions."

Even if the court were to go along with this argumentation, Willinger would face new problems, for following his arrest the banks canceled all credits and businessmen broke off contacts with him. His assets of DM 160,000 having been blocked by the courts, his wife lives off social assistance.

Ries and Willinger shared the same kind of fate even before they learned of the consequences of being BKA suspects.

Ries emigrated to Great Britain during the time of the Nazis because he could not marry his half-Jewish fiancee, and Willinger had to flee from Cologne for Holland with his Jewish parents in 1933. They were murdered in Auschwitz in 1943, and only Willinger survived.

8790
CSO: 2300/137

BORDER TROOP MOTORCYCLE TRAINING DETAILED

East Berlin AR--ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 1, Jan 83 (signed to press 23 Nov 82) pp 36-41

/Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit: "Over Sticks and Stones: A Border Troop Motorcyclist Sometimes Has to Travel Over Sticks and Stones With His TS (motorcycle). How He Learns to Do This and Other Information Is Reported by 26-Year-Old Recruit Uwe Uschmann From the Gustav Sobottka Border Troop Training Regiment"/

/Text/ What boy is not interested in auto mechanics? Anyway, I certainly was. When I was 14, I wanted a motorcycle. During my vacations I worked secretly to make some money--my parents were not supposed to find out anything. At 16, I finally got a used 150. Nowadays I am limiting myself to two-wheel oldtimers, I am active in the General German Motor Sports Association. I just need to get dirty. I have to be able to tinker with something. It is my hobby; I invest a lot in it. I do not smoke and hardly drink.

I received my first driver's education at the Berlin branch of the Society for Sport and Technology. I was a student in Weissensee and learned on an ES 150, then I became an electrician's apprentice at Elektrokohle in Lichtenberg and worked with a W 50. We were trained thoroughly we had set ourselves a high goals. Without the Society for Sport and Technology, I would have found a lot of things with the border troops much more difficult. I can only recommend that every future soldier be active in the Society. It is a wonderful school for building character, teaches you to be strong and brave.

With this "background," I was, upon being drafted, assigned to motor vehicles. That, of course, was exactly what I wanted. I did not care where I was sent. Vehicles are the same everywhere, I told myself. So I was happy when I was able to continue down my old road when I joined the border units. In the regiment we are trained for 6 months and are then transferred to the national frontier. Military driving, auto mechanics, utilization and maintenance, traffic laws--these are the subjects of our special schooling. Many hours are devoted to driving in easy, average and difficult terrain, on quiet and busy roads, in city traffic, in a column. And that not only with a motorcycle but also an LO. Finally, there is a hands-on examination. If you pass it, an entry authorizing you to drive your class of vehicle is made in your military identification.

Our practical training is what I enjoy most of all. Here you have a close encounter with technology; you learn how to master it. It is on the obstacle course--the AR photographer took some pictures there--that it becomes especially obvious who has his machine under control. Since I had a lot of prior experience, I made rapid progress. Other comrades, however, who had only a driver's license, really had to hustle. Of course, I helped them. Generally, I am in final position in a column--I "gather" up those who have gotten stuck, look at their vehicles, and often find the defect in no time. Naturally, I also learn from the younger guys like 19-year-old Private Kaske. Mutual support--that is part of drivers' code of honor.

And there are things I have to learn. Once I had to drive my LO through a bomb crater. Its angle was 45 degrees, and right away it went straight up on the other side. I thought my bumpers were going to push the earth up; I wanted to move down and up in one go, but I forgot to get into all-wheel drive. I was now stuck, could not move either forward or backward. I was awfully embarrassed; I felt afraid for 5 minutes. Well, that kind of thing does not happen to me any more. The right lever at the right time--you must remember what to do without having to look.

In general, I have discovered that there are differences between driving here and out there. Apart from the fact that there you wear jeans and here overalls and that you carry a weapon and your gear. But a military driver is like an individual fighter--he is assigned a mission which he must carry out satisfactorily. He has to do so regardless of whether he is to regulate traffic, guide columns past quickly and safely, or act as a motorized border guard who must correctly assess the situation in his section of the frontier. He must be familiar with his vehicle, know all its noises, perform all operations without the slightest hesitation, totally concentrate on his job. A motorcycle is a lifeless object. But what makes you a real driver is how you rouse its hidden power, how you put it to profitable use. You must have a will of your own to achieve this; you must know why you are a military driver. It is stupid just to get on your motorcycle to use up gas. For that reason, I find senseless the way many young people tear around on streets and roads on their motorcycles. They ought to try their hand at driving on rougher terrain and acquire a real feeling for their vehicle. That makes the master.

I find that a military driver needs a great deal of self-discipline. I would advise a young comrade who is beginning this career, to learn self-control, to subordinate himself. He ought to open his ears and eyes to learn a lot. Outside in the army he will often be forced to rely on himself; there will not always be anyone next to him to assist him. Sometimes it enfuriates me to see apathetic driving students who do not think as they work, who just drift along. I cannot justify such half-heartedness. You must set a goal. It is awful to just live for each day. In my opinion it is stupid to say that the 18 months is a waste. A guy can use it to build his character, to acquire some education, learn something for life. The army offers enough such opportunities.

I like the driving instructors here. I believe Faehnrich Brumm deserves special praise. He announces our task, lets us drive, does not interefere in our performance, does not disturb our concentration. Afterwards he explains what we did wrong. We appreciate this method. A driving instructor must be a picture of calm.

My view is that the simulation of trouble is neglected. Driving is one thing, but discovering a defect and repairing it is different. There we should more often practice searching for the causes of trouble; we ought to work with our vehicles more. Then a lot of people would not always have to call for a mechanic right away.

So far I have driven approximately 600 kilometers with the LO, about 1,000 on a motorcycle. I think the five-gear TS 250 is a fine vehicle. It requires little servicing; all the parts are easily accessible; the engine performs very well; it is very reliable on normal terrain. But the clutch is too weak for rough country. On rocky sections, where I have to operate the clutch over and over again, the discs become hot quickly and stick. A 150 would be better.

I enjoy driving a motorcycle more than a truck. It requires much more agility, higher concentration. Even if I am always at the mercy of the weather. But these are secondary considerations--you just have to accept them. If your fingers get cold, you warm them on the cylinder. Driving a motorcycle is a matter of nerves, physical and mental work. In the winter, for example, I have to pay attention to every detail; a single rock can be your undoing. You must not become nervous on icy roads, not constantly play around with the accelerator.

The fact that I have been talking so much about driving does not mean that other subjects like political education, target practice, and protective training are less important. At first I, too, had trouble with military physical fitness. Weighing almost 200 pounds, I could not chin myself. As in all other instances, I had to practice hard. Now I can already do five chinups.

Training for service at the border is, of course, most important, since we are primarily border troops. Here, too, I wish to advance. So I am happy to have gotten A's and B's. I have sensed that caution, using one's head are essential for a border soldier. Our instructors have made it clear to us what to expect at the frontier. I know about troop concentrations in the Federal Republic; I am aware that the Americans are increasing their European forces; I realize how explosive the situation is. This service is going to be rough for me. No, it is not going to be easy. My thoughts are often going to be with my wife and our two children. But I am eager to do my best at the frontier, to become a fine border soldier.

9873
CSO: 2300/129

MAROTHY ASSESSES PARTY WORK IN BUDAPEST

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 1, Jan 83 pp 16-26

/Article by Laszlo Marothy: "Budapest Party Work on Balance"/

/Text/ The Central Committee is preparing for a comprehensive evaluation of the execution of the Congress decisions through fundamental preparatory work and use of the experiences and recommendations of the social organs. As part of the preparatory tasks, the Budapest Party Committee has reviewed the work experiences since the 12th Congress and developed its positions on our present situation and further tasks. Proceeding from the report of the capital city communists, I am trying in this article primarily to outline the kinds of political and ideological problems that we had to struggle with in the past 2½ years, what we did and what were the results, where we stand now, and what are now the tasks in Budapest of the party organs, the basic organizations, and the communists.

Our experiences show that the 12th Congress and the Budapest party conference analyzed our situation according to reality and provided a good program for the following tasks in the building of socialism. The people of the capital city know and accept as their own the policy approved at the Congress and the goals that were set. They are working unselfishly and successfully on their realization. But the restlessness, anxiety and uncertainty of the people is much greater now than at any time in recent decades. The reasons for this are well known: the international tensions, the capitalist world economic crisis and its unfavorable effects upon us, the problems of the socialist countries, the difficulties of our domestic building work and the measures we pass in response thereto often reluctantly.

Amid these more severe conditions, in the process of the transformation of our economy and society, and face to face with always new contradictions and conflicts, our public opinion is undergoing differences in the evaluation of the situation. Opinions are becoming polarized, debates are sharper, and there are some who are losing confidence in our future. Most of the people living and working in Budapest, however, desire the continuation of party policy in the present situation. They expect that the party and the communists will honestly analyze our situation, designate the real tasks, and create conditions for everyone to work better and, if necessary, more for the implementation of the goals developed and approved as a national program at the 12th Congress.

Our party committee analyzed fundamentally and in detail the development of economic life, the situation and the problems in the capital city. Among the questions studied, I shall mention here only several, the importance and central role of which are obvious in the solution of our proliferating problems.

In our present situation we must do everything we can to discover our reserves the better to exploit our resources and possibilities. There are still many enterprises in Budapest that are low in efficiency, poorly founded, or unprofitable. Slow progress is being made in studying them, making them economic, and modernizing their production structure. Slowness is characteristic of the development of capital city industry, or its reconstruction. There are many reasons for this, including the lack of a national concept of industrial development, the difficulties that have arisen in executing the central development program serving as the basis of industrial development, and the inadequate incentive and compelling nature of the means of economic management.

The manpower situation of the capital city is critical. The number of active earners employed in Budapest is declining from year to year. Of the two requirements conceived at the Congress for full and effective employment only the first is being fully realized. The imbalance in manpower supply and demand is not favorable for the improvement of work discipline and for raising efficiency requirements. The productivity growth rate has slowed down in recent years. The incentive system does not adequately serve the more productive employment of manpower. Scarcely a perceptible relationship exists between enterprise achievements, profit development, and wage development.

As seen by the Budapest Party Committee, there is at one and the same time a manpower shortage and surplus in the capital city, and thus we may speak not of a manpower shortage but of a deficiency in achievement. To eliminate this situation it would be necessary to transfer manpower from the profitable enterprises to the unprofitable. If we regard differentiated development as important, we need to have a strategy not only for development but where necessary also for retrodevelopment. Full employment is a basic social achievement; to interpret it as an enterprise task does not serve rational manpower management and the improvement of work discipline; for its solution as a state task, on the other hand, we have not as yet worked out the political and economic conditions, in fact not even the method of its technical execution, and preparation of public opinion in this direction is still being waited on.

Therefore, we must shape those economic and political conditions which will make it possible to liquidate uneconomic activities and to regroup with the least possible loss the manpower and material means that cannot be employed purposefully; this will assure that socially superfluous and qualitatively inferior work will be disadvantageous for those who perform it, and at the same time socially necessary and qualitatively good achievement will receive greater respect and material recognition. It is only in this way that we can satisfy the requirement for effective employment, only this can lead to the elimination of overemployment and the accompanying loss of achievement.

Considering our economic situation, equilibrium requirements; wage policy oriented to achievement and the possibilities for living standards and their development, it appears justified that we should work out a more realistic sociopolitical program than the one we have, which will take into account in a more differentiated way the situation of those sub-classes of society whose living conditions have grown specially difficult. First of all, we would need to devote more to improving the situation of young people who are establishing a family, of families with two children, those who live alone and the elderly pensioners.

For the discovery of our reserves and the better exploitation of our possibilities, we regard as necessary the further modernization of economic management, planning, regulation, and the institutional system. We must increase enterprise, cooperative, institutional and council independence and the accompnying responsibility. This will make it all the more important for the party organs and the party organizations to fulfill their calling in the party guidance of the economy.

In more than a negligible share of our party organs and party organizations there is lacking a basic analysis of local conditions and problems, the working out of tasks, and the mobilization of communists and other workers. It is largely a leadership fault if our comrades often know more about what is happening in the world and in the country "in general" than what is going on in their own areas or plants. In some places they do not approach economic affairs from the aspect of political guidance or the setting of requirements, but from the operational production-organization aspect. Detailed intervention is characteristic of their work, and in some cases this leads to the blurring of responsibility. Of course, the majority of the party organizations consists of those where the local efforts are in harmony with the economic-political goals of the party, and the methods of controlling the party guidance of the economy are also correct--they emphasize the appropriate selection of the main tasks that basically influence management, the recognition of trends as opposed to details that deal with everything, and the working out of alternatives that adjust well to changing conditions.

Finally, the basic task of the party organizations and members is to promote in economic-political decisionmaking and consciousness formation all which serves consistent, rapid and practical realization of economic policy, and to oppose with presence, attitude and outlook whatever will hinder this.

The party organizations of Budapest carried out their political and ideological work and their activities in cultural life in the spirit of the direction set by the Congress.

They had a significant role in the fact that the society of the capital city recognized the changing conditions, and was able to adjust to these with relative rapidity. Their activities contributed basically to the fact that the political atmosphere in the capital city is calm, the sociopolitical relations are balanced, public safety and security are solid. The masses have faith in the party, which achieved this confidence with its open policy and the results of it which made the life of our people richer and better.

Urban political questions had an important place in information and agitation. As a result of our work, the people of Budapest recognize and acknowledge those efforts which the party and state organs have made and are making in order that Budapest, according to its place and role in the life of the country, should be able to develop even in years when material resources are growing more scarce. They know that one of our most important tasks is the improvement of the housing situation, and that in 1980 and 1981 we built 34,000 new houses; and they are confident that this year's plan for the construction of 17,000 new houses will also be fulfilled. Also well known are the results we have achieved in the development of child-care institutions. The nurseries are capable essentially of meeting all requirements. The level of facilities has also been improved for kindergartens, and today we are able to place in a reassuring manner 92 percent of children of kindergarten age. In the past 3 years we have devoted special attention to health development and reconstruction tasks, the expansion of the commercial network, the improvement of mass transportation and the construction of the metro.

We have achieved all in all considerable improvement in the living and working conditions of the people living in the capital city with the fulfillment of urban development goals, better unity among plants and institutions, a good commodity supply, the introduction of the five-day work week, and many other factors. And yet public opinion in Budapest is not unified in its judgment of the situation. They judge the development of living standards--and this includes party membership as well--mostly on the basis of how wages and prices develop. In making these judgments, it is rarely that mention is made of income in addition to wages, social allowances, the change in total consumption by the population, and the social outlays that significantly influence working conditions.

And still in 1982 almost every Budapest resident received 13,000 forints' worth of state support in the form of services. In 1979, this figure had hardly come to 10,000 forints. In recent years there has been an increase in per capita pension payments, the family al'owance sum, and the number of families participating in recreation at reduced rates. The purchase in Budapest of automobiles and other durable consumer goods increased rapidly in 1980 and 1981 and somewhat more slowly in 1982. At present, there are for every 100 households in Budapest 121 television sets, 106 refreigerators, 97 washing machines, and 41 automobiles. Savings deposits increased from 45 billion forints in 1979 to more than 54 billion forints at present.

However, actual problems and not only mistaken value judgments are reflected in the outlook of the people. Shortcomings in our otherwise successful activity may destroy the credit of information and the mobilization strength of agitation. For example, public opinion is reacting with increasing irritation to the fact that in housing construction the building industry is doing significantly poorer quality work than is desirable and possible, and at an inadequate rate of speed; that because of shortcomings in housing management many state houses are vacant for an unjustifiable length of time. People are sensitive to those elements of their living conditions which could be developed without obligating money, or only a small amount. These include, for example,

supply, service, interest protection for the consumer, and the quality of administration. In this area we can contribute to an improvement in the public attitude of the people by reducing the causes for rightful complaints.

Information, agitation and propaganda in the capital city have sought to keep pace with rapidly changing conditions and requirements. In the case of a number of problems, however, we have allowed ourselves to get into a position of too little and too late. The international situation and the unfavorable processes of the world economy, the increasingly difficult task of our socialist building work have raised many new questions. Although we have sought to give convincing replies, we have frequently been slow and wanting. Frequently we have been unable adequately to clarify the theoretical and ideological bases of the problems in the eyes of public opinion; this was true, for example, with the Polish events.

Related to the foregoing, we also find erroneous, mistaken and even inimical views in public opinion. Those who proclaim these views also find a forum in the press, radio and television. It is no secret that there are those in the country--mainly in Budapest--who do not agree with us. Among them are "orthodox" critics who deny the socialist character of our existing relations and political efforts; and there are also those who exercise unmistakable right-wing criticism over us in the spirit of bourgeois ideals, values and principles. Clearly, these are not many although their number exceeds their lung-power. Their presence, however, indicates, that there is still need for a two-front battle.

The otherwise imposing number of our works for forming public thinking do not in themselves appropriately characterize ideological influence, for underneath there is a great deal of unevenness: there may be demanding outlook, superficiality, or creative ideas and indifference alike. The essential thing is whether we are dealing, and how, with the most important ideas and ideological questions of the times. The facts show that we were able to grasp the main current questions.

We have dealt attentively with the internal relations of our society that is building socialism and with the performance capability of the Hungarian People's Republic. In this way, we have put on the agenda the questions of the interest relations of our society, the development of socialist democracy, the property and distribution relations of socialism, the socialist value system, lifestyle and morality. We have dealt a great deal with the social position of the intellectuals and with their calling and role. Nevertheless, we can perceive in public opinion a faulty evaluation of the development of our social relations, and an exaggeration of the problems we have ourselves uncovered. Following the earlier upswing in development, the recent years have not been impressive in their statistics, but still public thinking does not evaluate adequately the work that has demanded such hard holding of our ground.

The national program of the 12th Congress which requires strict, realistic and great efforts, does not appear in the thinking of many as the next step in the

building of developed socialism, but is fixed as the plan for survival, the preparation for a new bolt. We wanted to an awareness that our program contains both elements: we possess such technical, economic, intellectual and moral resources as are sufficient to restrain the destructive effects of the price explosion, the prolonged capitalist world crisis, and the creation of the bases for further advances. Have we succeeded?

Clearly, people appreciate our steadfastness, the international recognition of Hungarian achievement, but there are also anxieties and uneasiness. They are worried that we will exhaust our reserves, that the reduction of producer investments will deliver a return blow later, that the slow change in our product structure and the compulsory exports are accompanied by great price losses. They bear in mind the extent to which lack of organization, occasionally weak leadership, the sometimes low level of expertise, the slowness in transplanting intellectual achievement into practice weakens the performance capability of the country.

The other center of gravity for propaganda was the question of war and peace, the problem of detente or a new Cold War. The party membership confidently feels and consciously accepts that the strength of the socialist system, the burden undertaken by the Soviet Union, the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact and the millions who are struggling for social progress throughout the world are capable of restraining the world-war efforts of the imperialist circles that play with the fate of humanity. More and more people feel that the guarding of peace is linked with our holding our ground. The feeling of unimportance holds only a few today. On the other hand, the younger generation--given their inexperience--may make an abstract peace idea their own, put an equal sign between weapon and weapon, not considering the social system and the class efforts. There are already signs of this. In the future we must reckon more with the inexperience of the young age groups and their sincere desire for peace which is looking for a place, role and the possibility of expression.

In recent years the most well-considered, the scientifically based and most broadly worked out subject area was the last quarter century of the building of socialism. We focused on the profound analysis of the causes of the counter-revolution, its complexities and interrelationships, and the dialectic of continuity and change. Even among party members it was necessary to show that essentially before 1956, too, our country was characterized by socialist features--although with many distortions--and basically this is what made it impossible to continue the building of socialism. They showed that it was exactly the return to Leninist principles, the creative application of Marxist teaching that held the magnetic needle for policy to win back the disillusioned, disoriented and confused masses. We outlined the dynamic course of our social, political and economic development, we gave an awareness of the upswings, our faltering and our detours.

But we cannot regard as having finished the working up of the experiences of our historical course. What we have done thus far has not adequately benefited our public thinking. Every day we encounter simplified, one-sided judgments of the initial phase in our building of socialism, the identification

of those who committed grave errors that were accompanied by painful consequences with the party as a whole, and the discounting of the role of revisionism and the external and internal enemy among the causes leading to the counterrevolution. There have been and still are those who have quickly forgotten the lessons of our previous struggles, failures and successes. Sometimes we even lose sight of the fact that it was exactly a party sensitively attentive to social reality that found the answer to every basic question of our progress, and was capable of developing a national program and mobilize the masses in its support.

This is an imperishable subject and represents the steady, continuous task of propaganda, for there are enormous reserves latent in making known the historical path, the stations of socialist transformation and development, and making use of the lessons.

The basic task of our ideological work is, and can be expected to remain, the shaping and development of the historical consciousness of the party membership and of people in general--in indivisible unity as it were with the formation of Hungarian consciousness.

With it political practice, our party gave back credit to the concept of a socialist country, and in a hard ideological struggle it clarified the unity of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Today Hungarian consciousness can be built on clear theoretical principles. We can be proud of the achievements of the Hungarian people, which have been brought about not at the expense of and despite others, but by mobilizing the best of its capabilities and by joining with other people, and with them gained its place and respect in the world. Our people took into their own hands the guidance of its destiny, and they determine their mature historical tasks, their present and future.

This is the base which our coordinate system regards as the starting point, by which we measure our evaluation of past and present affairs. This is the standard by which we can judge the main stations of our history in order that we may know what was valuable from the viewpoint of national development and what was disadvantageous.

We know that here in Central Europe it was inevitable that the history of one country--exactly according to the logic of the class societies--should not affect, its interests should not harm those of another country. But it is exactly our situation which justifies that we should not hold those who are living today accountable for the past, but that we should soberly judge the steps that can be deducted from the irreconcilable class conflicts of that time; this cannot be a burden on our present relations. Many, however, are not capable of or inclined to do this; when we say "socialist patriotism, they say an undefined "national consciousness," and they call for an accounting of the fate of the Hungarians living beyond our borders. For us, patriotism is inseparable from socialism and internationalism, and it is on this ideological basis that our party judges national questions. Our party will not permit itself to be chased into any kind of adventurism, but it will take all those

steps which can be done in the spirit of the Leninist nationality policy, and it will react to every attempt to harm its ideological policy.

To remove the historical and national consciousness perplexities from the thinking of people, we will have to work a great deal to make up for past omissions. In order to develop a historical and Hungarian consciousness that guards progressive and socialist values, we must improve history education put greater requirements on the social sciences--above all on historical science--, we must correct the value confusions in literature and the arts, we must accept debate in ideological work even in "delicate" subjects, and we must continue the practice that has been successful thus far in open political discussions.

Many people have expressed criticism that the party does not initiate ideological debates, or it organizes its resources slowly; that discussions have been pushed out of the party framework and responses are attempted, if not by those without authority, then those persons or groups that do not possess appropriate responsibility. If we look closely at the questions that are brought up--population, the national question, the "second economy," poverty--we can see that the party has theoretically well-founded positions, resolutions and political practice in these matters.

Among other things at party incentive, it is science that seeks, and in part has found, the answers to the new questions. But it is a fact that this rich material has not sufficiently imbued the everyday activity of party work. These problems also have various roots. One reason can clearly be found in propaganda work, which has not always linked the well-mature results of the social sciences into consciousness formation. The fact is that such a requirement exceeds the training of some of the propagandists. Another reasons is that the basic organizations, particularly at membership meetings, and in fact in the bodies, deal less than necessary with ideological questions and with the surfacing and conflicts of various views.

A problem affecting the whole of our characteristic, political work is that in the execution of resolutions that have been well reviewed, thoroughly debated and approved with understanding among those concerned we see great differences in the execution of resolutions, and it is difficult to understand why. We think we might find the cause in the fact that the ideological justification of the decisions is often weak, the reasoning is largely political, we do not consider adequately the theoretical and ideological questions that arise in the course of execution, and it is actually these factors that cause the spread in the range of execution.

This happened, for example, with the introduction of the new business forms, which caused many problems for us in political work. The first, spontaneous views were that these "would bring about the rebirth of capitalism," "open the path to the acquisition of large incomes without work," "siphon off manpower from the large socialist plants," etc.

But our experiences thus far have not justified these worries. In the capital city, most of the new business are enterprise task forces, small and affiliated

enterprises, specialized coop groups, that is, they are part of the socialist sector and act in conjunction with some large producer organization. The new businesses employ about 20,000 persons in the capital city, usually after working hours or as supplement to a pension. For this reason, the introduction of the new business forms has not caused significant manpower displacement. Clearly, however, the creation of the new businesses has set in motion additional stratification among workers. It is an important political task of ours to keep track of and to analyze this.

Thus experiences up to now of introducing new business forms have been favorable. But still reserve is characteristic vis-a-vis these forms rather than support. Initiative is slight, administration is slow and sluggish, and the creation of the operational conditions is difficult. As part of the background to all this, we must also recognize the ideological uncertainties and the theoretical lack of clarity.

There are many who say that it is the task of science to respond to theoretical and ideological questions. It is true that science ought to assume a greater role in answering present ideological questions, but without the outlook that ideological work is an inalienable part of party activity, we can get nowhere. We must devote greater energy to working out answers to ideological questions that may be expected to rise during execution well ahead of time and make the activists ready. We must give a reply as quickly as possible to questions that cannot be thought out ahead of time.

The Budapest Party Committee regards it as proper for the debated questions of society to be discussed above all in the party, and this is where the replies are born: the constructive ideas that are raised at many forms are summarized; if this is where good political initiatives begin or this is where they find support. To this end, the party organs and party organizations should make more planned and organized use of the capital city's significant intellectual resources. We must take care to see that the results of social science research projects enhance more quickly and better the ideological and political work of the Budapest party organs. Of course, the exchange of ideas about social problems is not a communist privilege; it is necessary and important that this should be participated in by the nonparty membership. In settling our common tasks we cannot do without their theoretical grounding, social experiences, creative spirit, dedication to socialism, and their relations with and influence on the masses of the population.

Changes in international politics and in the world economy, the internal problems of our economy, Marxist answers for new questions arising from the foregoing, and a high-level solution to our practical tasks require propaganda work that is open and able to take initiatives. The ideological foundation of our goals and plans, their political interpretation, the preparedness of the party membership and mass political work may help in the continuous renewal of an active national unity.

Noteworthy results and disturbing signs alike are evident in the cultural and artistic life of the capital city. The conditions and results of creative

work are not inferior to those of the preceding period. It is disturbing, however, how the distortions of history and national consciousness appear in creative works, sometimes in a sensational way. In literary life more and more efforts are evident which seek to break open new paths for vague endeavors under the slogan of organization according to "trends." It is not enunciated plainly but can be made out that certain people regard party guidance of the arts as burdensome and have attempted to establish groups that are autonomous and responsible only to themselves. In practice sometimes, one of the basic principles of our cultural policy is not realized in a balanced way--independence coupled with responsibility of the creative workshops, the journals and the publishers. This can be properly realized if their leaders create with ideological firmness and critical self-examination the conditions of independence, and do not permit to pass through their hands works which are antithetical to our social goals, our values, and the political efforts represented by our party.

It is a weak point of ours that our ideological influence is not strong enough in some areas of cultural life. The party organizations are primarily preoccupied with the art political debates that are being conducted here, but sometimes they are also uncertain about these although they try to hold their ground with integrity. The activity, initiative, and reaction capability of the party members working in this area are not adequate. Within the framework of cadre training, to be sure, we succeeded in finding the form and substance which attracts several hundred artists to ideological training and political discussion, and still this is not enough and weak in its effect.

It is the position of the capital city party committee that we must strengthen the orientation and influence role of the part in the cultural life of Budapest. To this end, the party committees must establish continuous and personal ties with the artists and the creative work places. They should extend more help to the clarification of ideological and political questions for communists in the art cooperatives and for the realization of party policy. We must do a great deal more to see that the party organizations working in the art areas are fitted to carry out the local party guidance functions and be capable also of increasing their organizational strength.

After the capital city party committee reviewed the activity and tasks of the Budapest party organs and party organizations in the economic, ideological and cultural areas, it examined the situation of the party and analyzed the development of party life. At this place we do not wish to extend ourselves to an evaluation of the work style and methods of the basic organizations and the elected bodies or to factors influencing changes in the number of personnel. We shall touch only on timely questions of party unity, relations with the masses, cooperative policy and cadre work.

In Budapest, party unity exists in basic questions, but this unity is weakened at the same time by many different kinds of concepts and practices in important partial questions. A more complicated and difficult situation and new tasks deriving from the implementation of the Congress resolutions have put to test the unity of the party membership. The burden has been made greater because the new problems and tasks have come in greater number and

more directly than in other areas given the situation of the capital city. Thus controversial questions have multiplied even in the closer surroundings of the party members, and the solution of the tasks is accompanied by more clashes, conflicts and tensions.

As a consequence of all this, the political sensitivity of the party membership has increased and especially recently our problems have brought uncertainty among some members. The reason for the uncertainty is that a part of the membership--given the inadequate nature of their situation, training, orientation and conviction--does not understand and cannot follow the contradictions and rapid, unusual changes of our social development.

In examining the actions and bearing of the party members it must be indicated that according to our experiences the number of specific and accountable party assignments has increased; this is praiseworthy and necessary. But their activity cannot be narrowed down to the carrying out of some kind of definite party assignment and joint task. The most important standard is to what extent do we find in the party member an identification, and a sense of responsibility for our affairs as a whole; how does he represent, circulate, and explain party policy; how well does he support the political decisions of the party organization; and not least of all who does he attend to his task.

Our party membership as a whole meets these requirements, but there are warning signs that improvements here, too, are needed. If a party member listens in silence and uncertainty to everyday discussions, or voices his reservations and grumbles to others; if he tolerates lack of discipline, waste, and poor work in his environment; if he is unable to provide an example to the collective with his work and attitude, he does not strengthen the leading role of the party. Therefore, we regard it as an important task that in all political an ideological questions under debate, we should prepare the activits rapidly, flexibly and demandingly, following clarification of the party's theoretical position, to pass on what has been done and to convince others. This is the work of the party committees. As individuals, the work of the communists, on the other hand, is continuously to renew their unity, and not wait for special assignments for convincing representation of the party's policy, but by relying on their knowledge and political experiences, give answers to questions and boldly oppose opinions and attitudes that conflict with moral norms and party principles; they should debate if necessary, convince people, and in this way strengthen the relationship of the party and masses.

In summarizing everything, we may say that in the capital city the party operates on the basis of Leninist norms, it has been able to guard its unified mass relations even among political conditions that are periodically more difficult; even in the more difficult situations the party members were a force that formed a determining political atmosphere; and therefore the party's leading role is being realized. We can conceive of a solution to our problems only if we constantly renew and strengthen mutual confidence between the party and the masses in every question; if socialist democracy is further strengthened; and if we succeed in broadly unifying the social forces of the capital city.

We must reckon with many unknown or uncertain factors in our work. Experiences, however, show that the wider and more democratic the debate preceding decisions the smaller the possibility of making an error. We can attain our goals more safely if people take part not only in the execution but in the drafting and laying out of the taks. We are striving to see that under the present circumstances also the participation of the working man and the population should grow in the settling of public affairs and in the formation of the life of small and large units. Democratic rights are being widely realized, and still we must do a great deal also in the capital city to make the system of forums richer in content.

To overcome our present problems we must discover the reserves of our society, and put into motion the driving forces of initiatives that create the new. In solving the ever new contradictions that go with development, we must work in such a way that socialist national unity will be strengthened and transformed at a higher degree in common thinking and action.

The experiences in Budapest show that in the past period the changes in our socio-economic life have accelerated the internal restratification of the working class. Its political opinion formation became more differentiated, and we can observe increasingly new phenomena. Therefore, the capital city party committee evaluates the experiences regarding the earlier resolution or the role and situation of the working class and defines the further tasks. The social role and responsibility of the intellectuals in socialist building work and in ideological, scientific and cultural life has grown. Particularly important are the level of their education, career initiation, and the use of knowledge. The problems that are in evidence in these areas make strengthening of the party's influence and the development of the public life activity and initiative of the intellectuals more difficult. Proceeding from this, the Budapest Party Committee regards it as important to study the situation of the intellectuals and the basis on which to conceive the tasks.

Nowadays in every area of life we must struggle for success and often, in fact, guard our results. All this places greater burdens on leaders active in policy, economy and intellectual life; and a great deal depends on their selection or whether their work is good or bad. Therefore, cadre work is a sensitive point of our present, and an important condition of our further development.

Most of the leaders working in the capital city fulfill the higher requirements placed on them, they seek to carry out their tasks honorably, and they are participants and forgers of the results. We encourage now, and we will in the future, those leaders who recognize and desire the new, who look for the carriers of progress, and who accept responsibility for the risk of change. But all in all, our cadre situation is not satisfactory.

In some places there are problems in the way the cadre political principles and the threefold requirements apply to our present situation. There are many who underrate the importance of professional competence and do not regard it as a requirement of political content or effect. They forget that

today professional competence is also a political question, for the stability of our situation and the attainment of our political goals is decided to a significant extent in the economy.

The requirements must always be adjusted in substance to the demands of the times. In the present period we need leaders who not only know and understand party policy but can implement it in a creative way; who have modern professional practical and leadership knowledge, and their training keeps pace with the domestic and international development of their profession; and who in the area trusted to their responsibility are capable of leading with an appropriately good grasp of situations and analytic capability, with initiative, and according to the norms of socialist democracy.

In many instances damage is suffered in the practice of cadre work by principles, the realization of the threefold leadership requirements, and democratism. Subjectivism also continues to have an effect. The ratio of the younger age groups is still low among the leaders, as well as the ratio of women as compared to the work role they fulfill. Worthy exercise of authority and the rapid change of cadres is frequently made difficult by formalities that create the appearance of democratism, superfluous coordination, complicated procedural rules, and bureaucratic features, and with this they obstruc the rapid and effective selection and placing in office of talented persons suitable for leadership work.

It is the position of the Budapest Party Committee that we have a basic interest in cadre work, in improving the level of state personnel work and in better party management. We must speed up the discovery and the working out of those solutions which promote the democratization of cadre and personnel work, the rejuvenation and revitalization of the leadership corps, and the selection of talented, enterprising cadres. It appears necessary to examine the procedural rules and methods of the organs that exercise authority, to reduce the steps in coordination, and to create the conditions necessary for simplifying and establishing good foundations for the decisionmaking process.

The Budapest Party Committee arrived at the judgment that we have advanced in many areas since the 12th Congress and our efforts were not in vain. But we still have a great deal to do in order to carry out the resolution of the Congress. We have the appropriate political base and a program that is also accepted by our people to carry out **these** resolutions successfully. We are firmly convinced that with the further improvement of our work and with the unity of the party members and those who are outside the party we shall be able to solve the tasks that face us.

The 12th Congress and the conference of the capital city communists have shown the proper direction, and we must continue in that way. But conditions have changed, and we must realistically take this into account. In the main questions, the "half-time" evaluation of the Central Committee will show the direction. Let us create the foundation for implementing the socialist national program with communist firmness, by representing and defending our ideals and policy, and with exemplary deeds.

LODZ PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Progress of Reports Campaign

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 10-11-12 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by (Fog.): "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Lodz Province PZPR Committee: Course of Reports Campaign at Plant Party Organizations; Elections of Councilmen and Collegium Members; Current Political-Social Situation; Market Situation"]

> [Text] An immeasurably important campaign is under way within the party, along with the attendant political work, namely, reports meetings are being held. At yesterday's session of the Executive Board of the Lodz Province PZPR Committee, which was chaired by Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and secretary of the Lodz Province PZPR Committee, precisely this topic was considered and the course of the reports campaign at plant party organizations.

The rich material submitted to the Executive Board yesterday in the form of information compiled by A. Grudzinski, director of the Political-Organizational Department of the Lodz Province PZPR Committee, will be discussed in a separate large article. For today, we shall concentrate only on the comments made during the discussions by members of the Executive Board of the Lodz Province PZPR Committee. The following took the floor in that part of the discussions: M. Wawrzynska, M. Grzegorczyk, L. Wlodkowski, K. Janio, H. Suskiewicz, A. Junka and M. Anysz. They pointed out the public openness of the discussions at plant party organizations during reports conferences and the noteworthy fact that it was exactly workers, party members and candidate members, who took the largest part in these meetings. During the report meetings the state of plant party organizations in the Lodz Province was evaluated and a position was taken on many questions of the economy, the functioning of state and local administration, the relations at plants, the relations between the management and the work-forces, and the work of various organizations, including the renascent trade union movement. The members of the EB LP PZPR [Executive Board of the Lodz Province PZPR] Committee stressed greatly the need to take a position on all the recommendations made during the reports campaign and inform party members of the manner in which these recommendations are received and settled.

As the second item on the agenda, the course of the elections of councilmen and members of collegiums for transgressions was considered. The following took the floor in the related discussion: K. Kwiatkowski, H. Jodelis, M. Anysz, K. Janio and M. Bieszcz. It was stated that the campaign was a significant event in the process of the normalization of socio-political conditions and concretization of the ideas contained in the July 1982 Declaration of Agreement. It will also hugely influence the shaping of political and legal culture and principles of the co-existence of citizens, the strengthening of the bonds linking society and the consolidation of law and order. It is highly significant that a large proportion of the elected councilmen and members of collegiums for transgression consists of workers, party and public activists. It also is worth noting that a sizable part of the public activists working on the most difficult sectors of our life derive precisely from among these people. Their efforts and toil are--as also emphasized by the EP LP PZPR Committee--deserving of the highest esteem.

The EB LP PZPR Committee also examined during yesterday's deliberations the information presented on the current political-social situation in our province, and in addition it analyzed the anticipated state of market supplies, which is particularly important in view of the coming holidays. Appropriate information on these issues was presented by J. Mysliwy, director of the Department of Commerce under the Lodz Municipal Office. Others who took the floor were: M. Szczeniak, B. Moczkowski, J. Nastalczyk and L. Potakowska.

It appears that the pre-holiday supplies for the province market will be better, and such improvements can be expected as regards fish supplies; some (though insufficient) supplies of herring will appear, along with canned fish imported from the USSR and Yugoslavia. Adequate supplies of raw and cured meats will be assured in quantities sufficient to meet the rationing quotas. The supplies of such staple foodstuffs as flour and processed flour products can also be regarded optimistically, and there should be no problems with dairy products, but there might be some problems with the supplies of animal fats. An improved supply of confectionery goods should also be expected. Trade is taking organizational steps to prepare itself for increased purchases and it is only to be desired that these steps be fully adequate.

The Executive Board also took a position on certain anomalies present--of course, against the background of shortages--on our market. This concerns, among other things, the organization of various kinds of "linked" sales or barter by work establishments, certain of them, at least. The members of the Executive Board took a negative position on such occurrences, in the belief that such practice deprives the market, and hence also the general public, of many goods in demand. Of course, this does not concern the preferences given to factory work-forces by means of improved supplies for plant and factory stores. In this matter much has already been accomplished and further steps will be taken to streamline the operation of these stores so as to meet the needs of the women belonging to the work-forces of Lodz labor establishments.

Success of Economic Reform

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 16 Dec 82 pp 1,2

/Article by (er): "Success of the Economic Reform Hinges on the Work-Forces: Plenary Session of the PZPR Lodz Committee"/

/Text/ /The assessment of the socio-economic situation in the Lodz Municipal Province in the light of the resolutions of the 8th and 10th Plenums of the party Central Committee was the topic of yesterday's deliberations of the PZPR Lodz Committee. The participants in the deliberations, which were chaired by Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee, included: Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Wieslaw Szymczak, Deputy Minister of Chemical and Light Industry; Col (Retired) Kazimierz Garbacik, member of the Military Council for National Salvation; Igor Sikirycki, chairman of the PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/ Provisional Province Council; Stanislaw Zalobny, chairman of the Lodz Committee of the SD /Democratic Party/; Stanislaw Wojtunik, secretary of the ZSL /United Peasant Party/ Province Committee; and Jozef Niewiadomski, Mayor of Lodz.

The point of departure for assessing the performance of Lodz's economy toward the end of the first year of the economic reform and determining the tasks of party organizations for the future was the report of the Executive Board of the Lodz PZPR Committee, presented by Jaroslaw Pietrzyk, secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee. The report contains positive experiences from that period and outlines negative phenomena, among which one should primarily include the sizable decline in the output of yarn, which is decisive to the production performance of the entire light industry and--despite the somewhat better results than for the country as a whole--major organizational shortcomings in construction, resulting in only a half-way utilization of facilities and deteriorated performance of construction. Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, took a position on the problems touched upon in the report and the broad discussion.

The Plenum adopted a resolution defining the specific tasks of plant party organizations in the second year of introduction of the economic reform. Toward the end of the deliberations the first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee recalled that it was precisely on 15 December 1948 that the Union Congress had commenced its deliberations and the Polish United Workers Party was established. Despite the attendant difficulties, the experience of those years demonstrated explicitly that the idea of the union of the worker movement was of fundamental importance to the process of building socialism in our country. Nowadays we dispose of relatively modern potential and its proper utilization at present is of decisive importance to surmounting the crisis and to future development.

An analysis of the situation in the Lodz economy after the first 11 months of this year was presented by Jaroslaw Pietrzyk, secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee, and it pointed to the great interest shown by enterprises in making their performance profitable. Most enterprises attained and often exceeded the planned profit level. The attainment of high profitability is not, however, a result of truly efficient management. Compared with a like period last year, the output of principal products was lower: by 42 million sq m for cotton fabrics; by 5.6 million sq m for wool fabrics, and by 6 million units for knitwear goods.

Thus, proper costing of prices so as not to burden them with the cost of excessive consumption of raw materials and fuels, poor management and ordinary waste, is becoming a major problem. These aspects have not been adequately reflected in the performance of plant teams for analyses, cost and prices and in the plant programs for surmounting the crisis initiated by the plant party organizations.

A highly favorable trend is the growing rate of output, ever since last August. This was certainly assisted by the aforementioned plant programs as well as by the effective operation of mechanisms of the economic reform and chiefly the wage-incentive systems.

In the light industry of both Lodz and the entire country a major shortage of yarn is currently becoming a fundamental problem. This is due to the substantial decline in employment, the virtual liquidation of the third work shift and raw-material shortages at the beginning of the year. All this moreover results in a decrease in the output of other subsectors. There exists the danger that the yarn shortage will additionally complicate the situation. On the other hand, however, considering that the personnel shortages cannot be offset, enterprises are inadequately utilizing the possibilities for compensating underemployment by means of other factors. This may be exemplified by the organization and utilization of work time. Calculations show that during the first 11 months of the year the average spinning-mill employee has been absent for a total of 24 work days, not including vacation leaves.

The process of the introduction of plant wage systems also is inadequate. As a result, wages have been increasing at the rate of 22 percent since the beginning of the year, whereas the increase in average productivity of labor was barely 1.8 percent. Many opportunities for a fuller utilization of productive capacities have been forfeited.

The situation of construction is particularly disturbing. There, the decline in output during the last 3 years has been about 55 percent, while at the same time the cost of maintaining assets, which are utilized only in half, has been rising. As a result, construction cost will increase at a relatively rapid rate. During the first 11 months of the year barely 4,041 dwellings out of the planned 5,962 have been released for occupancy. Although the monthly targets have been fulfilled for the first time in November, at most 5,123 apartments will have been released for occupancy during the year as a whole. The prospects for the next year are envisaged at the same level

and the progress of the preparations for next year is unsatisfactory. The report addresses special criticism to the performance of the management of construction services. There is not only lack of initiative but also delays in settling problems ensuing from the pertinent legislation. This especially concerns the communal services. Thus, this is a major task and a tremendous opportunity to party organizations in Lodz construction, although many principal issues, such as the material supplies of construction, have to be resolved by the central authorities.

Assessing the application of mechanisms of the economic reform, the report stated that many of the solutions applied in work establishments remain shy of the freedoms granted by the resolution of the Council of Ministers. And yet, the incentive system and the proper proportion between wage increases and productivity, as well as basing monetary income on a real quantitative and qualitative rise in output, are simply a foundation of the economic reform.

The revisions of many mechanisms of the economic reform that are slated for introduction as of 1 January [1983] are intended to improve the effectiveness of management and make possible the modernization of spinning-mill capacities and the implementation of investments serving to improve labor productivity and working conditions and promote the conservation of raw and other materials. These opportunities should be exploited beginning with the first few days of the first year.

The analysis presented in the report of the Executive Board was followed by a discussion elaborating it. The operation of plant programs for surmounting the crisis and the improvements in efficiency of management were equally critically assessed in that discussion. As Zbigniew Kucharski stated, among other things, in the Widzewska City-Quarter no plant has drafted any such program completely. Care thus should be taken--through the party organizations--to incorporate in technical-production plans the basic elements of the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee.

Much attention also was devoted to the performance of plant incentive systems. The experience gained in this respect at the Cotton Industry Works imeni J. Marchlewski was discussed by Pawel Zawadzki, first secretary of the plant party committee. Another example worthy of emulation is the FENIKS Hosiery Works, where the shortage of more than 300 employees and a major shortfall in output could be offset by means of an adequate incentive system so as to balance the books and set the program for the next year at a much higher level than previously.

Problems of construction also have been repeatedly touched upon. According to Jerzy Michalski, the reform was introduced in construction with a delay of more than half a year. The fault is partly that of the excessive costs--the poor quality of the materials supplied to construction: paints, adhesives, linings, not to mention the notorious panel heaters. The extremely irregular flow of the supplies of basic materials also is a factor. Early this year, for example, cement was not available. At present it is in abundance but it is steel that is scarce.

Developing this topic, Jerzy Lapinski, the Deputy Mayor of Lodz, also pointed to flaws in the related performance of the ministry of construction. This concerns chiefly the impossibility of balancing the actual supplies with the construction program. Recently, for example, the ministry approved material supplies at the level equivalent to 4,000 dwellings. To Lodz this program is simply unacceptable,particularly considering the need to develop communal construction.

Pointing to the positive phenomena of stabilization of production at the TECHMA Machine Industry Modernization Enterprise, WOLCZANKA Clothing Plants and the Power Hydraulics Works, by way of examples, Wojciech Kopec, secretary of the Gorna City-Quarter Committee, stressed the low level of awareness of aspects of the economic reform. As regards the managerial personnel, they must be required to be familiar with regulations, while workers should be reached by means of propaganda of aims. This is primarily the role of the basic party organizations.

Aspects of the improper evolution of enterprise profits were considered by Krystyna Goral, deputy director of the National Bank of Poland in Lodz. Linking the problem of growth in output to export needs, she postulated the need to consider transaction prices in the cost and price calculations of enterprises. A position on exports was also taken by Jerzy Wojtkowski, director of the TEXTILIMPEX Company. In his description of the actions relating to the development of economic cooperation and trade with the socialist countries and the difficulties ensuing from the American sanctions and the economic recession in West Europe, he at the same time pointed to the need for correct operational decisions as regards imports. Import decisions must be accompanied by decisions on payments. Cost and price analysis at enterprises must be intended to reduce the cost of production and make it more profitable. The prices of domestic raw materials also should be properly regulated. An excellent example is flax as a Polish raw material. The price per kilogram of flax in Belgium is 60 zlotys, whereas that of Polish flax is 320 to 360 zlotys. Hence, we should have long ago abandoned the exports of products manufactured from flax as the sole raw material.

The streamlining of employment was discussed by Krzysztof Borkowski. Next, Izabela Potakowska again raised the issue of the situation in construction. Roman Skoniczko took a position on the research facilities and personnel of industry as well as on aspects of guiding technological progress. Zdzislaw Bubak, referring to the multiplicity of economic mechanisms and instruments, offered a reminder that the subject of the reform is the plant worker. The potential inherent in the activities of party members should primarily provide the motive power for changes taking place in the economy and within the self-government and trade-union echelons.

Prospects of the light industry were also discussed by Wieslaw Szymczak, Deputy Minister of Chemical and Light Industry. For 1983 a marked increase in output is envisaged in such fields as clothing, footwear, consumer and industrial chemicals, and agricultural chemicals. A program for modernizing

the spinning mills has also been drafted and it should compensate for the manpower shortage within the next few years. The deputy minister stated that next year will witness an attempt to nudge light industry resolutely to the forefront. But we cannot continually speak of the manpower shortage and instead we should try to solve problems, considering the opportunities afforded here for resourceful action by the revisions of economic mechanisms.

Summing up the discussion, Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stressed that economic problems will increasingly influence the social climate. The economy slowly is beginning to move. The aim for this year, namely, halting the decline in production and returning to the 1981 level, has been accomplished. Now the inflationary trends should be effectively counteracted and solutions serving to expand production and refine the principles of materials management should be explored. It can be stated that the success of the economic reform now hinges on the performance of the enterprises--of their work-forces and the plant managerial aktiv. To this end, all the opportunities afforded by incentive systems should be exploited. The main emphasis should be placed on construction problems, because construction should become a factor in economic growth.

M. Gorywoda declared that the problems we have to solve are compounded by the fact that the sphere of the economy has turned into a field of political struggle. This concerns the struggle to weaken the socialist countries economically and cause specific social consequences. Thus, an allowance has to be made for prolonged external problems. This, in its turn, means that the pace of our emergence from the crisis will be decided by the extent to which we utilize our own resources and the manner in which we developo cooperation with the socialist countries as well as by the extent to which we reduce the unit consumption of raw materials.

The resolution adopted by the plenum specifies with unusual precision the tasks of the basic and plant party organizations and enterprise management. At the same time,it specifies the deadlines for implementing these tasks. This concerns the analysis of the utilization of production capacities and of the possibilities for reducing production costs and altering the variety of output destined for the market, exports and feeding the population. The possibilities for utilizing manpower in industrial production and improving the operating efficiency of structures and managerial cadres in construction also will be analyzed. The party members belonging to worker self-governments and trade-union organizations were obligated to present the findings of these analyses to those bodies and promote their consideration in plant programs for surmounting the crisis and developing production.

Closing the deliberations, Tadeusz Czechowicz, first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee, referred to the anniversary of the Union Congress and the establishment of the PZPR, falling on that day. He declared that, while it creates the conditions for surmounting the current difficulties, the party is not desirous of doing the job of anyone else. We intend to offer a political assessment of the trends that occur. Our common goal should be the proper utilization of material and human resources created in the past 34 years ever since the formation of the PZPR. We wish the potential vailable to Poland to be utilized for bringing order and economic development. The related duties of party members should be regarded simply as a basic party task.

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 7-8-9 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (hz): "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Lodz PZPR Committee. Activities and Programs of the Province Party School; Praise for the Worker Consultation Team; Implementation of Recommendations and Resolutions"]

> [Text] The activities of the Province Party School and the changes in its curriculum were considered yesterday by the Executive Board of the PZPR KL [Lodz Committee]. The topics discussed, with the discussion being chaired by Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the KL, also included the premises and directions of further activity of the KL Consultation Team and the assessment of the implementation of the resolutions and recommendations adopted at the plenary sessions of the Executive Board and Secretariat of the KL during 1982.

The Province Party School commenced its activities on 17 November 1981. It was established under unusually difficult socio-political conditions. Already from the beginning it started to play the role of an inter-province school, training POP [basic party organization] and KZ [plant party committee] secretaries from the Lodz, Piotrkow, Plock, Skierniewice and Sieradz provinces.

So far, 530 persons have attended the courses. It matters greatly that--as emerged during the discussion--little has remained of the original curriculum of the school. In the course of instruction the curriculum has been modified and adapted to current needs, "so that the auditors would gain a maximum of knowledge about social relations, current economic problems, party theory and practice, and also party history."

The discussion that ensued concerning aspects of the school's activity resulted in many interesting recommendations. Thus, among other things, the need to create an activist model was postulated, a model that would underlie and prompt all curriculum changes by the school administration. The need to enlarge the proportion of lecturers recruited from among political and economic activists and experienced workers of the party and administrative apparatus was also pointed out. The necessity of assuring the training of activists from various social, political and mass organizations was mentioned.

Among other things, the drafting of a formula for training at the school without reducing the resources of such forms of party training as the WUML [Province University of Marxism-Leninism] was postulated.

In the related discussion the floor was taken by, among others, the comrades: Kwiatkowski, the school's director, as well as Michalski, Ciesluk, Anysz, Grzegorczyk, Szczesniakowa, Junka and Wawrzynska.

The next item on the agenda was discussed with the participation of representatives of the KL Consultation Team. After listening to reports on the activities of that team, the Executive Board expressed its highest recognition to persons engaging in these activities. The tremendous usefulness of that team was emphasized. The positive effects of consulting the public about many undertakings of the party and government as well as about the undertakings of the Lodz echelon were pointed out.

The team representatives present at the deliberations of the Executive Board pointed to numerous shortcomings in the performance of various party and administrative elements. They shared their observations concerning the municipal economy, the organization of trade, etc.

In the ensuing discussion the floor was taken by, among others, the comrades: Bialasinski, Pakula, Bieganski, Szczesniakowa and others. The team representatives familiarized the Executive Board with their plans of action for the immediate future.

Aspects of the implementation of the recommendations and resolutions adopted at the plenary sessions of the Executive Board and Secretariat of the KL were for the first time comprehensively discussed by the Executive Board. The report prepared contained a detailed list of the recommendations and resolutions adopted and their implementation. This was a thorough report listing all the actions taken to implement every goal.

The Executive Board resolved to ask the Inspection Commission to clarify, jointly with the problem commissions of the KL, certain explanations, because those submitted for the deliberations did not touch upon all the activities of the Lodz echelons to implement the resolutions adopted, insofar as the related initiatives are concerned.

1386
CSO: 2600/553

LETTER TO 'NOWE DROGI' SCORES CONCEPT OF SOCIALIST PLURALISM

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 12, Dec 82 pp 150-156

[Letter by Tadeusz Wrebiak to Stanislaw Wronski, editor-in-chief of NOWE DROGI; cited article by Wawrzyniak published under title "Problems of Socialist Democracy, Party Role Discussed," JPRS 82723, 25 January 1983, No 2100 of this series, pp 62-78]

[Text] Dear comrade, the article by Jan Wawrzyniak, which was printed in the September 1982 issue of NOWE DROGI under title "Problems of Socialist Democracy, Party Role Discussed," raised a lot of doubts. This is why I am writing this letter to the editor.

In this article, among the few very interesting statements and generalizations regarding how in our country social democracy is functioning, there was also a question about socialist pluralism. More importantly, there was a very controversial issue; in a socialist country, democracy should be made richer through the new component of socialist pluralism.

This is a very far-reaching demand. Of course, this problem has to be discussed, which the author has invited readers to do, but also we have to analyze this proposition very critically. Above all, this problem needs to be taken into consideration very carefully. Even hastily-taken changes of opinion in our party on an issue of state and socialist democracy can bring unexpected results, and even an unexpected threat to the fundamental value of our entire political system in the Polish People's Republic [PRL].

Of course, more important are the merits not the form of the issues. I would like to state my opinion briefly on this issue.

The author of the article states that "socialist pluralism" has to be completely opposite of the political pluralism that functions in the capitalist countries. He states further that we cannot identify the mechanism of "socialist pluralism" with the already existing "free play of political forces" in the capitalist countries. Why not? I think that political pluralism as a system of power and as a system of political life has to have "free play of forces," even if we consider that system on other than a capitalist, socio-economic basis.

It seems to me that nearer the truth in this matter are the Italian communists. They hold the view that political pluralism can exist in socialism, and they are not deluded that this system can represent the affairs of all social groups without calling for a "free play of forces."

For clarity, I would like to cite the opinion expressed on the subject 14 years ago in the theoretical weekly of the Italian Communist Party, RINASCITA. This is what the Italian communists wrote then about political pluralism in capitalism and pluralism:

"In a society divided into classes, the so-called 'free play of forces' is a tool used by one class to dominate another. In a socialist society where antagonistic classes do not exist, the process can express itself freely.

"Certainly, the expression of many points of view can be 'uncomfortable,' which can seem to be risky. As we have stated above, it seems that risk is necessary and problems like these are unavoidable. Take the example of Poland...."

This quotation is taken from a larger article by Luca Pavolini entitled "The Borders of Revolution," printed in RINASCITA on 20 September 1968. The article's author discusses the theoretical and ideological conditions found in the Italian party in light of the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. There is also a long fragment discussing our party's position on these events.

Do these words not provoke some reflection, and should they not be used in analyzing the issue of pluralism:

Socialist democracy completes "socialist pluralism"--according to J. Wawrzyniak--and it has to be based on a cooperative partnership of different political and social forces, among which the party plays the leading role. Would it not be better to state right out that a socialist-democratic system requires enrichment of principle, and not connection with any "political pluralism," not even with the adjective "socialist"?

From my point of view, in a socialist state whose fabric expresses the dictatorship of the proletariat the interests of each class of working people have to be in harmony not only among themselves but also above all with the interests of the working class guiding the strengths of socialism.

Today, for everyone who is familiar with the present problems in our country and who is not a blind dogmatist, it has to be clear that radical improvement of the socialist democratic system is one of the most important roads required to rebuild trust for the government and the party. Only an effective, competent and clear democratic system can rebuild trust again among workers and the people. They must feel that authority in our country is really their authority, and that only together with that authority and not near nor against it can they get out of the current difficult crisis.

I doubt, however, that the idea of "socialist pluralism" can help us in this area, or that it should support the intellectual strength and practical

actions of people leaning toward the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] to define the most acceptable direction for us of the country's socialist development.

In conclusion, I feel that we rather need an effective socialist democracy that will protect the partnership and cooperation with democratic branches (authorities and self-governing organizations). This mechanism will take into consideration the democratic relationships among all workers and all citizens.

J. Wawrzyniak appeals also to our Polish experiences. He is of the view that the situation in Poland proves that without allowing for "social pluralism" in the work of the state, democracy is incomplete and leads to a deformed political life.

Pluralism is one of the political ideas of modern capitalism, and it appeared among political operatives in the highly-developed capitalist countries because this political formula suits the characteristics of these countries' economic base. E. Fraenkel from West Germany represents pluralism, and I would like to cite a few of his words here: "In a modern industrial society, a person who is a member of a collective and autonomous organization can be protected from public and social power, and also can influence decision-making."[1] "Organized interest groups are autonomous because their fundamental activity is regulated by law. They are not restricted by the state, and they are free. None of these groups has any special privileges in the eyes of the political authorities, and none of them is excluded from the process of decisionmaking and influence. All of them can join the process at any moment they choose."[2]

These are words that express in full the essence of political pluralism. This political pluralism has been adopted by bourgeois individualism, which is marked by large, medium and small owners of capital, and which has to have a "free play of power" in public life.

Even if we leave out the whole problem that political pluralism, as an organizational system of social life, has a different meaning in socialism than in capitalism, we still must explore the mutual relationship between socialist pluralism and the marxist dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the author of the article does not even mention this issue. Why not? Is it only by chance that he has kept silent about it? It is known that Communist parties that favor pluralism in socialism (e.g., Eurocommunism) doubt the value of the Marxist formula. In this situation, should we not define in Wawrzyniak's view the relationship in Poland between socialist pluralism and the dictatorship of the proletariat?

So as to avoid any misunderstandings, I do not want the formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat to be overlooked for tactical purposes. This means that the bourgeoisie in their propaganda are using the word "dictatorship" only because they want to spread the slander that every socialist state using this formula is a totalitarian state that has nothing to do with democracy. In this case, the parties usually use a different formula, such as

"the political power of the working classes," etc. For a long time now, even our party has not used the formula of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of a socialist country. Does this mean that this formula has lost its meaning in today's world? Or maybe it is not used anymore in the Polish state in the current stage of building socialism in our country? I think not.

At this time, I would like to return to the problem that I referred to at the beginning of my letter. Maybe I am wrong, but I think that if J. Wawrzyniak would delete in his article the term "socialist pluralism" and replace it with "an effective system of socialist democracy," for example, then it would be much clearer and easier to understand.

It is difficult not to agree with the author that Polish society cannot step out of the political life of the many millions of citizens of the PRL; it has to be represented by a different (pluralistic) system[3] that is composed of autonomous, self-governing political organizations, unions, youth groups and creative institutions that will act jointly on the basis of partnership and respect. And the organization of political and economic life and the entire system of authority should be like this so as to facilitate an effective representation of these various (pluralistic) interests expressed by the many social groups and to have them considered in the decisions of the political and economic authorities.

Why, however, has the author here limited himself to this statement of his thesis? If he does not develop his analysis, then he should give concrete proof that democracy has been crippled not only as a result of the reasons discussed in the resolutions of the Sixth Plenum and Ninth Congress of the Communist Party, but also as a result of the lack of a pluralistic component in the Polish model of democracy.

If the author would give us this proof or a good analysis, then it is possible that instead of writing this letter to the editor, I myself would become convinced of the need to introduce "socialist pluralism" into the power structure and also recognize it officially in party and state documents as an important element of democracy in Poland. Unfortunately, something else happened. J. Wawrzyniak's arguments are weak, and I cannot accept them nor become an advocate of "socialist pluralism." On the contrary, I strongly believe that the idea of political pluralism can raise itself up to the level of a symbol of the renewal of the political situation in our country.

In the end, the objection to the meaning of "pluralism" appeared in J. Wawrzyniak's article. The main problem of this discussion is not whether the word "pluralism" is used in publications or political lexicon, but rather the preciseness and accuracy of the word plays a large role. It is this aspect, because the word "pluralism" in scientific life and especially in philosophy has a great deal of theoretical meaning. We cannot take this meaning lightly nor disregard it, because marxism has used the word "pluralism" in this particular meaning throughout the development of its philosophy.

But the meaning of pluralism used in Wawrzyniak's article has been used in political circles in the West since the Second World War. Pluralism in this

second meaning has been used as an ideological weapon against real socialism. I also would like to add that in the propaganda used against us always created a perversion of the state's practice of real socialism, and also a dogmatism deforming the essence of the marxist-leninist conception of the state and of socialist democracy.

J. Wawrzyniak, in discussing the issue of "socialist pluralism," also cited the opinions of Jerzy J. Wiatr[4] and Stanislaw Ehrlich.[5] I shall take this opportunity to state that the ideas of S. Ehrlich are very controversial. He has asserted that pluralism as a political category can be separated and examined in isolation from the meaning he developed as a philosophical category.[6]

In order to state my view briefly on this issue, I must remind the reader that pluralism in philosophy is compared not to totalitarianism nor to uniformism, as they are defined in the political sciences, but rather to dualism (to a direction that is based not on the existence of many, but rather on only two mutually exclusive and fundamental elements, factors or principles; e.g., material and spirit), and to monism.

In addition, marxist philosophy also belongs to the monist view, and this is the reason why it presents the view of the world's material unity and recognizes material as an autonomous existence, and an awareness of its manifestation.

It is important to note that Jerzy Plechanov's marxist theory about social development (in which the thesis about matter as autonomous existence and manifestation as its characteristic has been found in the well-known thesis that social existence defines social consciousness, and not the other way around) can be located in the book entitled "Contribution to the Issue of Marxist Development in History." This is a very logical title because the marxist theory about social development (also the marxist view of political pluralism as a system of organizing power and the lives of the citizenry) determines the consequences of monist marxist philosophy.

The discussion on political pluralism in its separation from pluralism as a category of marxist philosophy seems to be in contradiction with the methodological foundations of marxism.

This is a subject in and of itself. And it is difficult to resolve this issue in a short letter to the editor. But if I have brought up this issue, it is only because I feel that there are many misconceptions and doubts about J. Wawrzyniak's very interesting observations. These misconceptions and doubts could have been avoided if he had not introduced in his publication the new wording "socialist pluralism" in the course of political thinking in the country.

I think that if one gives a new wording to an already-existing term (especially when one gives a new wording that is very important in the given ideology), then one has to know that the first meaning, the root of this term, has to be given a new meaning.

Editorial Comment:

In the September 1982 issue of NOWE DROGI in the section entitled "Problems-Discussions," we printed Comrade J. Wawrzyniak's article "Problems of Socialist Democracy, Party Role Discussed."

In his discussion of the issue of socialist democracy, used to express the interests of various social groups and guaranteeing to them "resolution of social conflicts on the way to understanding and compromise," the author defined this as "socialist pluralism," which has nothing in common with the so-called "free play of political strengths" that are directed against the sovereign bases of the socialist system. Realizing the discussion points in the article, we printed in in its entirety, counting on polemics.

In the October 1982 issue, in the article entitled "One Hundred Years of the Polish Workers' Movement," the editor observed that it was very important to signal a different point of view with respect to the issue of socialist pluralism (p 10): "During the past century, the Polish workers' movement has adopted the principle of class conflict as the source of strength for social progress. Interpretation and practice of this principle sometimes has been one-sided; adherence, uncompromising attitudes, and alertness have not always joined together with competence to ally with other progressive forces. The idea of alliances also is realized after taking power within a system of socialist democracy. These alliances never have to be called 'socialist pluralism,' as some recently have stated."

The editors count on further discussion as a result of the publication of Comrade Tadeusz Wrebiak's letter. We are concerned with a theoretical and political issue of the first order: the development of the international workers' movement in the development of democracy to socialism and communism in various stages and conditions.

FOOTNOTES

1. E. Fraenkel: "Deutschland und westliche Demokratie," Stuttgart, 1964, p 9.

2. E. Fraenkel: "Pluralismus als Strukturelement der freiheitlich-rechtsstaatlichen Demokratie," p 20.

3. The term "pluralism" in both cases is used in its colloquial meaning as a response to such expressions like "different," "size," "multiplicity," etc.

4. Jerzy J. Wiatr: "Cause of the Issue of Social Development in the Formation of Socialism," 1979; chapter: "Social and Political Pluralism," p 229.

5. Stanislaw Ehrlich: "The Faces of Pluralism," 1980.

6. In the "Faces of Pluralism," S. Ehrlich defines pluralism as the direction that limits unprincipled centrism in specified areas and in a given historical period. Pluralism stands in contrast to uniformism and totalitarianism as traditionally portrayed in the political sciences (p 10). On page 14, he states that he did not have the ambition to discuss every form of pluralism nor to enter the old debate of monism-pluralism. Also he did not deal with the necessary bridge between philosophical and sociopolitical pluralism.

9807
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'NOWE DROGI' CONTENTS FOR FEBRUARY PUBLISHED

AU081450 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] PAP--In the February issue of NOWE DROGI, the PZPR Central Committee's theoretical and political organ, readers will find a wide range of articles on important political, theoretical and socioeconomic subjects.

J. Krabzewski tries to describe the ideas and activities of the social right-wing during the period August 1980-December 1981 and today in his article "In the Shadow of Great Manipulations." I. Wajszczuk presents an outline of the activities of the PZPR primary party organization at the "Swidnik" transportation equipment plant during the same period of time. W. Rogowski in "How Many Sides Are There to the Conflict" analyzes the present differences in views and attitudes, weighing up against thisbackground the chances for national accord and the paths it should take.

There are two theoretical articles devoted to philosophical problems: "Structure as a Category of Historical Materialism" by J. Tittenbrun, and "Causes of Anticommunist Deeds" by W. Mejbaum. S. Widerszpil and J. Sztumski analyze matters concerning the intelligentsia during the transformations of the social structure in the Polish People's Republic.

The following are the scoioeconomic subjects covered: Self-management by work forces, written about by T. Jaworski; Poland and the world market for agricultural produce by E. Mazurkiewicz; handicrafts by Z. Rudnicki and attempts at economic reform in the years 1956-1980 by S. Jedrychowski. Scientific treatises and criteria behind the usefulness of science form the subject of articles by E. Halon, Z. Kaczmarek and B. Karolczak-Biernacka.

The Czechoslovak author Z. Hrabica writes on the occasion of Juliusz Fuczik's 80th birthday. J. Klechta analyzes the situation in Spain after the victory of the socialists. In addition, the contents of the SED periodical EINHEIT are discussed, a feuilleton by J. Putrament and reviews.

CSO: 2600/493

WOZNIAK ASSESSES PZPR WARSAW ORGANIZATION WORK

LD251149 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 25 Feb 83

[Interview with Marian Wozniak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw City Party Committee, by unidentified reporter--date, place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Question] The Sawsaw reports program conference is to be held. We are speaking with Comrade Marian Wozniak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw Party Committee. During the conference the report will cover the period between 30 June 1981 and the end of December 1982: 18 most difficult months. How does the first secretary assess the activity of the Warsaw party organization during this period, during which one had to struggle against political opponents while at the same time constructing the institutions of socialist democracy and a new economic system?

[Answer] We arrived at an evaluation of this whole period in the course of carrying out the reports campaign begun in October last year, and this coming Saturday will sum up the campaign in the whole Warsaw organization. The period has been a very difficult one, and its primary characteristic has been tremendous political struggle and powerful--and increasingly powerful--trends toward activities that do not just stabilize but introduce mechanisms and systems that would permit us to resolve social issues and issues of the functioning of political institutions, as well as to resolve economic problems. If I had to look back on these past 18 months, I would say that in 1981 the dominant problems were those of defense of the party. Attempts were even made [words indistinct] to remove works committees from factories. This period was particularly dramatic, because at this time the political opponent--both within and outside Poland--in the propaganda sphere and through actions that created anarchy in the country's economic and social life, unjustified strikes, actions that could be described as exerting coercion on political institutions, the state, the government, the Committee for Trade Union Affairs--all these created an extraordinarily difficult situation. We lost strength, and during that period many people gave up their party membership. Some because they lacked strength and conviction; others because they recognized that [words indistinct] socialism had outlived itself.

However, the period from about spring 1982, the period of martial law, is typified by hopes not just for stabilization but for the construction of

mechanisms and structures to oppose anarchy and to create the conditions for economic development. And here I would like to recall that we held a May Day demonstration with many thousands of party members--and not just party members--on the day of the workers' holiday. This demonstration morally lifted party members to a very considerable degree, buoyed up those who believe socialism to be an excellent solution for our country and who believe it creates the preconditions for developing and creating opportunities for the younger generation, contrary to what is said in the context of the dramatic events of the period of anarchy and economic disintegration.

I must say that during this period in particular, up to the closing months of last year, we weathered the economic breakdown and for the sixth or seventh month in succession we will register a rise in production. And when we recall how profound the breakdown was, as we draw up the balance for 1982, we have to count this a great success, because industrial production in our voivodship was only 1 percent down in 1982 on that of 1981. This means that in the economic sphere we have clearly begun to stabilize, though it's still a long way before total success is achieved. Certain mechanisms of the reform, which were introduced against great resistance and with great difficulties--both objective and subjective ones--are reflected in this, and at the same time our organization of 155,000 has begun a series of significant initiatives of a political nature.

One has to say that the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth has begun to function; that the battle for regeneration of the union movement has been initiated; that we have begun actions to develop workers' self-governing bodies that would be supportive of the assumptions of the economic reform. At the same time, in the ideological sphere--which is tremendously disordered in our society--the party has begun to develop propaganda activity with greater spirit. This was revealed very decisively in the assessment during the reports campaign in the basic links of our party. That campaign showed that the party is resolutely regenerating itself, although our weaknesses are enormous, and whenever we speak of the regeneration of the party we have to mention the fact that there are areas, enormous areas, in which the party is still very weak. This is the result also of the subjective characteristics of leaders at various levels of our party organizations. One has to bear in mind the fact that in 1981 the enemy's activities meant that a tremendous number of good party cadres were not elected to positions of authority, and that a lot of very young people came in, often zealous young people but also, and at the same time, wavering young people too, young people without the preparation for directing political work in the industrial enterprise, in the construction enterprise, in transportation, in the institution.

[Question] And how do you, Comrade Secretary, assess the implementation of all these party actions aimed at improving the life and work of the inhabitants of Warsaw and the Warsaw Voivodship?

[Answer] It is still too low with regard to public expectations. In relation to what is possible for us, perhaps we can do--or could have done--more, but it seems that we have already made considerable progress. Let me give a few

examples. It is true that during the winter of this year we were given very preferential treatment, but it is also true that for the first time the Warsaw metropolitan area and the voivodship were well prepared for this winter, and this applied to stocks of coal in the boilers, the level of preparation of the roads for use, the considerable problems with batteries and tires, the functioning of busses and railroads, despite the fact that we have tremendous problems with the cadre because many of them have taken early retirement.

From the point of view of the institutions that serve Warsaw and the Warsaw Voivodship, one has to say that despite a lot of criticism we have done much. What is important for us to stress today? We should eliminate, in the party in particular, in the economic and local administration, all attempts to justify the impossibility of doing something by means of objective causes. The struggle against objective factors is what I would term one of the main currents in the struggle for people's attitudes, for people to do things which may be very difficult but are not impossible.

In January we made two inspections of how stores are functioning, selected stores of particular significance for the Warsaw districts. In many cases these inspections revealed an enormous amount of subjective shortcomings. We have drawn very far-reaching personnel consequences from this. This was very well received by the public and its reception in trade itself was not too bad, for it creates the preconditions for improving the functioning of trade, since that portion of trade employees who really do work selflessly do not all want to be called bad workers. The situation is most difficult in construction, and here I do not think we can speak of successes, either in housing construction or construction for education and the health service. The crisis was quickly mastered in industry and in transportation, but in construction we are at the stage of the beginning of economic reform. In essence, a year has been lost in housing construction, considering the fact that in Warsaw 170,000 families are waiting for apartments--sorry, I mean people, the number of families is a little less. This entails tremendous social tension. The problem passes from the economic dimension to the political dimension. At the same time, I would like to say that Warsaw, as an enormous center of academic research and culture, an economic center, has certain duties that stem from the fact that our party organization contains party members, specialists and employees who work in the central state administration and who thus construct the mechanisms, models and systems for the direction of this state in the economic sphere and in the sphere of administration. This places the party under an obligation; it places an obligation on the Warsaw organization for the initiatives and control of implementation in these matters to be the particular object of our interest. Together with the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, the City District Committee has drawn up a document which provides a model of the solution of the functions of basic party organizations in the central administration in such a manner that the initiatives of the party organization, of the central administration, is reflected in the continual improvement everyone expects in the functioning of the administration and of the economy.

The main goal and task of our activities is to deal with things that matter to the citizen of Warsaw. If translated into the very simple language of everyday life, it means that when the citizen wakes up in the morning he wants to find a shop that is open with butter and milk. This is something that the party in the institutions and enterprises who deal with this must attend to. If they do not look to it, there should not just be sanctions and administrative consequences, but also retribution in the party too, for after all the party by its own choice is willing to act for the public. This is a moral duty, which stems from the statute. Furthermore, this is the functioning of transportation, of the trade, and of a whole series of services, especially such services as education, upbringing and the health service. I think that if every citizen comes to see the party as an organization which feels these issues to be particularly close to it, which is particularly sensitive to them, we have a chance of gradually gaining support and increased trust in the party and its members.

CSO: 2600/510

'SZTANDAR MLODYCH' COMMENTS ON TRIPS BY U.S. OFFICIALS

Bush European Visit

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 5

[Commentary by Wiktor Weggi: "George Bush in Europe" with introduction by (mb): "U.S. Diplomatic Offensive"]

[Text] Two important trips of high ranking officials of the U.S. administration have come to an end, namely, that of Vice President George Bush to Western Europe and of Secretary of State George Shultz to Asia. Europe and Asia, continents whose state of political stability or unrest determines the future of world peace, and which had the opportunity during the past two weeks to become more closely acquainted with the foreign policy-makers of the U.S. The plans and achievements of the U.S. politicians are discussed in our commentaries.

During a 12-day period, the vice president of the United States, George Bush, visited seven West European countries. This trip was unusual on all counts; it has even been called a clarifying mission which implies the great importance attributed to it by the White House. Its "missionary" ranking, its duration and the selection of countries visited attest to the fact that President Reagan attempted to restore good relations with Western Europe, which have not been the best since the time of the introduction by the U.S. of an embargo on deliveries of West European equipment for the Siberian pipeline which will carry Soviet gas to Western Europe.

The political context within which this marathon trip took place is also very significant. Bush left for the "Old World" four days after the publication of the Warsaw Pact Prague Declaration in regard to which the White House and its NATO allies had to, after all, assume some sort of attitude and before the visit of France's minister of external relations, Claude Cheysson, to the USSR, where most probably he will talk with Yurii Andropov; and also before the March election in FRG which will determine who will assume power: CDU [Christian Democratic Union] or SPD [Social Democratic Party] in coalition with other parties, of course.

However, Washington views improvement with the EC in a specific way. For Reagan, the return of Western Europe to good terms with the U.S. should be expressed in, above all--economic issues between the above-mentioned sides being, at present, unsolvable--European agreement to force through the American "zero option" in the Geneva INF disarmaments talks, which assumes that the U.S. will not deploy cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe if Moscow reduces the number of its medium range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union. Naturally, the NATO allies view this project with criticism, knowing that the USSR will not allow itself to be disarmed unilaterally.

At the same time, Bush was very intent on obtaining permission to station the aforementioned U.S. missiles in certain West European countries. This says a lot about the true intentions of U.S. disarmament policies. He did not gain much in this regard: those governments which were for the missiles have remained so (FRG, Great Britain) which does not at all mean that they have public approval; those cabinets which were undecided, for example, Belgium and Holland, could not give their word of honor that they will say "yes," since they were afraid that they would not receive approval from their parliaments and that they would assuredly be criticized by their public, which is already protesting against plans of deploying U.S. missiles.

The trip made by Bush was also supposed to bring a propaganda success by convincing the public of the countries visited, as well as world opinion, that the United States is a fervent advocate of disarmament. However, Bush did not go beyond nice-sounding declarations and also did not present new proposals but only "rehashed" the "zero option." It stands to reason that the disarmament talks in Geneva with the Soviet delegation ended in a fiasco. The attempt to weaken the significance of the latest peace initiatives made by the USSR also failed. The public gave him a cool reception everywhere he went, and in several capitals demonstrations were held.

In Western Europe, Bush also brought up the issue of bilateralism. There exists many aggravations, misunderstandings and situations which need clarifying between the U.S. and the Common Market countries. Within this context, Bush's visit to FRG, where he declared support for Chancellor Kohl, who will face elections in March, would seem to me to be the most important one. We shall soon find out whether this U.S. support will increase his vote. In Italy, Bush was intent on seeing the Pope. During the audience, Bush was unable, however, to incline John Paul II toward glorifying the "new" U.S. disarmament policy. In Paris, he gave explanations in regard to U.S. economic policies, and promised that the United States would consider not using protectionist measures. However, these were only words without the backing of any concrete commitment.

In bidding farewell to Western Europe, Vice President Bush stated that this had been a "productive trip and in keeping with the spirit of unity." Such a broad evaluation attests to the fact that the existing status in U.S.-Western European relations has been maintained, which I should think is not a success, and improvement in these relations is surely not a question of the immediate future.

Shultz Trip to Asia

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 14 Feb 83 p 5

[Commentary by Michal Borzyminski: "George Shultz in Asia"]

[Text] The Asian trip of the U.S. secretary of state, which began two weeks ago in Tokyo, ended on Japanese soil as well. After holding a meeting with U.S. ambassadors to Far Eastern countries and taking in the final planned stop of the trip, Shultz also made a 2-hour stopover in Tokyo on his way back to Washington. At Haneda Airport, he met with the head of the Japanese diplomatic service, Shintaro Abe. It is not so much the discussion itself, during which Shultz informed the Japanese minister about the progress of his talks in the People's Republic of China and South Korea, as the statement made later by the Japanese side which ought to be considered as an interesting source of undoubtedly many commentaries.

Thus, the spokesman for the Japanese minister of foreign affairs revealed that during the meeting between Shultz and Abe, the so-called cross-recognition of the two Korean nations was discussed. What this pertains to in this case is the political concept whereby the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China would recognize South Korea while the United States and Japan would do the same in regard to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The idea of this cross-recognition had been discussed earlier by Shultz with politicians in Seoul.

Regardless of what Shultz would say in the course of his trip about the goodwill in his approach to the Korean problem, his statements are impossible to accept in view of the other events of the past 2 weeks. The most important of these, of course, were the joint maneuvers of U.S. and South Korean military units dubbed "Team Spirit-83." After paying a visit to the U.S. and South Korean units situated along the demilitarized zone which separates the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from South Korea, Shultz said something which automatically puts a freeze on any attempts of normalization, including his own. The U.S. secretary of state stated point-blank: Washington will not withdraw even a part of its 40,000 soldiers stationed in South Korea as long as there "is a threat from the north." The possibility of an agreement between the two Korean nations and the rise of "peaceful conditions" is possible, according to Shultz, in... the distant future. Is there anything more to say?

China protested twice against the joint maneuvers of U.S. and South Korean forces. This also indicates that the talks in Peking did not go exactly as the Americans had expected. How much did Washington hope to accomplish? Certainly not more than the current administration's policy conducted in regard to the two Chinas allows. President Reagan, who showed particular favoritism toward Taiwanese politicians since the time of his election campaign, could have already become ultimately convinced from his minister's trip that Peking would not give in. The first signs (either undetected or ignored?) appeared during last year's [1982] visited by Vice President George Bush to the People's Republic of China. In addition, the "silent

celebration" of the 10th anniversary of the normalization of Chinese U.S. relations could not have left any illusions as to the possibility of improved dialogue with the Chinese leadership.

That is why the U.S. secretary of state came to Peking--in order to renew the forgotten dialogue between the two governments.

The Chinese press agency XINHUA commented on the outcome of the talks with George Shultz in a significant and reserved manner. Shultz tried to minimize the significance of the Chinese commentary...and to convince those attending his press conference that many problems already existed before his arrival.

And finally, the Japanese segment of this trip. Following the political discussions between President Reagan and the Japanese premier, Yasuhiro Nakasone in Washington, a greater emphasis on the controversial issues of economic trade was expected. The U.S. stand on this issue remains steadfast. Shultz declared: "There is little chance Congress will not impose trade barriers if the Asian countries continue to use protectionist practices."

In assessing his trip to Asia, George Shultz made the following observation: "I will be able to tell the President that he has 'sound allies' in Asia."

And...that is all.

9853
CSO: 2600/391

KRAKOW OFFICIAL SPEAKS ON NEW 'KUZNICA' CENTER

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 12-13 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Dr Jan Czepiel, director of the Culture and Art Department of the Krakow Municipal Office, by (wk); date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] In GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, there have appeared announcements on the formation of the "Krakow Kuznica" Cultural Center by the mayor of Krakow, and on a meeting of political and administrative authorities devoted to discussing conceptions of the program of this center. Since you, comrade director, took part in this meeting, we would like to ask you for some details....

[Answer] The "Krakow Kuznica" Cultural Center was created as a specialized center for the creation and popularization of culture, and is active in the city of Krakow and in Krakow Voivodship in the area of creating and disseminating socialist culture, art, ideology and science. The center is not an association, but an independent organizational unit, financed by the Voivodship Cultural Development Fund. Its tasks will include creating opportunities for joint meetings, discussions, exchanges of views and mutual inspiration for artistic, scientific and educational communities. We propose to make "Krakow Kuznica" a place for presenting the creative output of artists and scholars connected with the center, and we also expect that it will inspire and stimulate novel phenomena in the cultural life of our city and voivodship, and conduct patronage over young creative artists.

[Question] Why the name "Krakow Kuznica?"

[Answer] The name "Kuznica" has its own long-standing tradition, going back to the time of Kollataj [an 18th century Polish enlightenment cultural figure], and "Krakow" refers to the fact that the range of its activity encompasses Krakow and Krakow Voivodship, and that in our own times two clubs with this name have already been active.

[Question] Where will the center be located?

[Answer] In Krakow, at 25 Rynek Glowny, when local conditions are appropriate for conducting this type of activity.

[Question] Who will plan and direct the work of the center?

[Answer] The director, who manages the entire spectrum of activity and is responsible for it; moreover, a social organ, the Social Programs Council, created by the mayor of Krakow, will share responsibility for the work of the center. This organ will include representatives from political, social, cultural and educational institutions and organizations, as well as individual creative artists, cultural activists and representatives of the scientific community. Let us add right here that the activity of "Krakow Kuznica" is patronized by the Cultural Commission of the PZPR Krakow Committee, and by the Commission of Science, Culture and Education of the Krakow People's Council.

[Question] Can we expect members of the former "Kuznica" Club to take part in the works of "Krakow Kuznica?"

[Answer] Some of the members of the former "Kuznica" association, its council and presidium, undoubtedly will want to participate in the work of the cultural center, and will provide interesting forms [of activity] and serve by virtue of their experience.

[Question] We thank you for the conversation, and at the same time express the hope that the center will become an influential cultural-creative establishment in Krakow, which we wish for the Directors' Office and the Programs Council.

CSO: 2600/489

BRIEFS

UNDERSECRETARY REPLACED--The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Eugeniusz Trajer undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Construction and Construction Materials Industry in place of Stanislaw Pajewski. [Excerpt] [AU252021 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Feb 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/492

DATA ON SERVICE-RELATED INJURIES TREATED IN MILITARY HOSPITAL

Bucharest REVISTA SANITARA MILITARA in Romanian No 3, (Jul-Aug-Sep) 82 pp 305-309

[Article by Col. Dr. Ion Rasiga, Col. Dr. Gheorghe Brebeanu, Lt.-Col. Dr. Stefan Stanescu, and Lt.-Col. Dr. Gheorghe Grama]

[Text] In reference to statistics on traumatized people hospitalized in a surgery ward for a period of 30 years, the authors conduct a statistical survey on the diversity, topography, and etiology of traumatisms and matters of first-aid, transportation and hospital treatment.

Reported are the results obtained, with the medical-military ramifications and an analysis is made of the chief causes that were factors in the onset of the injuries.

In conclusion the authors suggest measures designed to reduce the incidence of injuries and the gravity of the subsequent developments.

The high morbidity, disabilities and losses entailed by the days missed from the schedule and also the therapeutical difficulties in resolving many of the cases keep the problem of traumatisms forcefully topical at all levels of medical activity. It has been aptly stated that the war is an "epidemic" of traumatisms; in this respect, we find ourselves in an uninterrupted epidemic of accidents: automotive, railroad, air, industrial, sports and the like.

Prompted by these considerations, we shall provide a few statistical data and related discussions, resulting from a study of the cases hospitalized in our unit for a period of 30 years.

Statistical Data

1. Between 1952-1981, in the total number of hospitalizations, injured people accounted for 2.6%, and in the ward, 10.8%, with servicemen accounting for 72.5%.

2. The injured persons totalled 108,250 days of hospitalization; 74,614 days of leaves-exemptions, respectively a total of 182,864 days missed from schedule. On the average, there were 32 days per injured person.

Pattern of Injuries

1. The topography of injuries was as follows: head-neck -- 10.13%; chest -- 3.52%; abdomen -- 3.44%; pelvis-spine -- 4.18%; upper limbs -- 29.98%; lower limbs -- 41.78%; polytraumatisms -- 6.97%.

2. Variety of lesions: wounds -- 16.35%; contusions -- 16.67%; contused wounds -- 5.89%; sprains -- 9.47%; luxations -- 3.63%; fractures -- 32.96%; burns -- 4.63%; frostbites -- 2.11%; various (associated) lesions --8.30%.

3. Causes-circumstances. Information that was obtained anamnestically from the injured people or the persons who accompanied them, in regard to the causes and circumstances in which the injuries occurred, permit us to make a synthesis with a certain degree of relativity, because sometimes there is the tendency to distort reality for easily understandable reasons: traffic accidents (automotive, railroad) -- 23.17%; labor accidents -- 21.60%; training accidents -- 20.10%; sports-related accidents -- 16.55%; accidents caused by negligence -- 14.83%; horse-riding accidents -- 2.14%; self-mutilations -- 1.13%; bite wounds -- 0.40%.

First Aid, Transportation

Most of the injured persons reached the hospital in time because the districted units were not located too far and the wisely used current facilities ensured proper transportation. Used in most cases were the ambulances of the units or of the hospital and seldom other motor vehicles; in other cases, depending on the distance, sanitary airplanes were also used.

Sometimes difficulties were encountered in emergency transportation because of the mountainous area and cold weather.

In most cases first aid at the scene of the accident was provided satisfactorily: on the training field, in the unit, work places, and so on. Immobilizations and hemostases were correctly executed by unit physicians, sanitary noncommissioned officers and even by medical orderlies of units. Less correct were the dressings.

In most cases, the units made telephone calls to the hospital informing it about sending the injured and the nature of the lesions.

Hospital Treatment

The handling of emergencies was achieved in far better conditions when a physician on duty for the surgery ward was scheduled, in addition to the physician in the hospital.

Under planning, for the ward a chief surgeon was scheduled every day, who is on constant call at home on the day involved. Moreover, an instrument nurse is scheduled daily and is supposed to assist in the operation. For special emergencies the head of the ward is called regularly. Since the existence of an ATI ward, this ward plans its anesthetist in the emergency team.

The initial consultation between the surgeon and the internist on duty in most cases succeeded in specifying the diagnosis and in deciding the therapeutical management. In some cases assistance was required from the X-Ray unit and the laboratories of hematology, biochemistry and so forth.

The ward is permanently provided with the kits and materials needed for any emergency intervention. In the ATI ward there is a stock of blood, substitutes, serums and equipment for usage. The surgical unit was provided with a generator capable of supplying light in case of outages on the normal network.

We shall not dwell on the technical procedures for handling the various traumatisms because they were the topics of individual reports given by our team at diverse meetings and symposia. Consequently, this survey rather focuses on statistical data and organizational matters.

Results Obtained

1. From the beginning we consider our results as satisfactory, both because from one year to another we achieved the recovery of a growing number of injured people and postoperative mortality has been continuously dwindling (1.08% between 1952-1961; 0.13% between 1962-1971; 0.10% between 1972-1979, and 0% in 1980-1981).

2. A number of 3,354 surgeries were performed, including 572 for major injuries (polytraumatisms, thoracic and abdominal injuries, fractures, extensive burns), with good results in most cases.

3. Interventions were made in 56 cases for: postoperative hemorrhage (3); intestinal occlusion (10); stercoral fistulas (6); remaining foreign bodies (8); peritonitis (7); hemopneumothorax (3); viciously consolidated fractures, osteitis, pseudoarthrosis (16); miscellanea (3).

4. Out of the 5,782 injured persons we obtained recoveries in 5,052 (87.37%) and shelved 694 cases (12.03%) including: unfit 292 (224 soldiers, 68 officers); fit for noncombatant military service 306, and limitedly fit 96.

We had 36 deaths (0.6%) for: major burns (3); abdominal and pelvic injuries (14); skull injuries (3); chest injuries (2); polytraumatisms (8); injuries of lower limbs (4); spinal injuries (2).

5. We obtained good results even in serious cases of polytraumatisms, in full shock (8 successfully managed), when:

a. The unit informed the hospital, by telephone, in time, about sending the emergency case and its nature and the surgical team was prepared for immediate intervention;

b. First aid at the scene of the accident was correctly performed;

c. The injured person was rushed smoothly to the hospital.

6. We point out that from the injured people that reached us we sent to other hospitals only the patients with serious skull injuries.

Discussion of Data. Deficiencies Found. Conclusions

1. Morbidity as a result of injuries in the military area remains high; in our hospital injured people in recent years account for a high level of hospitalizations for surgery.

Taking into consideration the fact that a number of injured people are hospitalized in civilian facilities, the less serious cases remain in the infirmary, and others die at the scene of the accident or on their way to the hospital, it follows that the actual proportion of injuries is greater than the one we determined.

2. While the old injuries caused by horse riding declined up to disappearance (57 in 1952, none in 1981), there is an increase from year to year in traffic and labor accidents, injuries on the training field, resulting from sports activities and other causes.

Sometimes it is difficult to discover the real causes of the injury from the anamnestic information provided by the patient or attendants. On a case by case basis, they may involve:

a. Inadequate training of drivers placed under difficult driving conditions;

b. Fatigue or nonadjustment to the motor vehicle involved, that occur even in drivers who are well trained but had not been driving for a longer period;

c. Speeding and by and large violation of traffic laws;

d. Carelessness in training and training shooting, including the absence of the physician from the shooting ground;

e. Ignorance of and failure to apply labor safety measures, in production units, railroads, and so forth. This results in electrocution, high falls, railroad accidents and the like;

f. Lack of cooperation between the commandant and physician in implementing the measures to prevent some injuries (frostbites, driving accidents, and so on);

g. Shortage of rapid transportation facilities tailored for great distances, mountain areas or cold weather. Hence, we believe that there must be helicopters capable of landing in areas which are barely accessible to normal transportation facilities;

h. Shortcomings in the execution of dressings and temporary immobilizations by health workers;

i. Tardy or inaccurate information of the hospital by the unit;

j. Keeping in the infirmary of cases that required hospitalization, to avoid reporting as unusual events to the higher echelon.

In conclusion, the proportion of more than 10% injured people hospitalized in a surgical ward -- without adding the nonhospitalized cases or the cases sent to civilian

hospitals, belonging to the units territorialized by the military hospital involved — mandates the seeking of better solutions to preventing and minimizing injuries in the military area.

To this end, allow us to put forward a few suggestions:

1. The educational work (political, sanitary and labor safety areas) will focus on efforts to adjust the problems of prevention of accidents to the specific of the unit involved, with practical applicability, in the context of open discussion of each accident, the cause that generated it and the measures that could have prevented it. Individual discussions with the soldiers or the officers in charge of assignments, capable of producing various accidents, and visual propaganda can be very useful.

2. Utilization of drivers with inadequate training or untrained or tired drivers will be avoided. The attendants in vehicles will calm down the tendencies to speeding and will concern themselves with following all traffic laws, including the discipline of the military in the vehicle.

3. Correct preparation of shootings, application of all regulations, during the unfolding and cleaning of the training weapons, may avoid many serious accidents.

4. The presence of health workers, with appropriate first aid equipment, on the training ground and specifically during shooting sessions, is mandatory. Also mandatory are careful organization of service on duty at medical centers and provision of these centers with adequate items for immobilization, temporary hemostasis and dressing, and also with specialized emergency facilities for transportation to the hospital.

5. Proper cooperation between commandants and physicians at all levels of activity and constant and conscientious supervision of measures for prevention of accidents can result in lower incidence and reduced seriousness of injuries in the military area. Correct reporting and taking of the most correct possible measures for handling accidents, once they have occurred, are destined to reduce possible complications, upgrading the subsequent evolution and the chances for recovery of the injured persons.

6. In addition to the obligation of informing the hospital, by telephone, about sending the emergency, the seriousness of the case, through the officer on duty or the health workers on duty at the medical center, there is the advisability of the injured person being accompanied -- in light of gravity -- by a physician or the sanitary NCO, or, in absence, stating on the hospitalization note the first aid administerd in the unit.

7. Because of the host and diversity of injuries, it is necessary to pay much attention in the process of medical education -- regardless of its level -- to problems of traumatology, with refresher courses provided in the context of retraining.

11710
CSO: 2700/44

FEES IMPOSED ON JEWISH EMIGRES

TA1C1436 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1330 GMT 10 Feb 83

[Text] Tel Aviv, 10 Feb (ITIM)--The Romanian authorities have recently begun collecting special fees from Jews for studies in higher-education institutions as a precondition for receipt of a passport in order to immigrate to Israel. Up to now the authorities had refrained from collecting this special fee from Jews immigrating to Israel.

Chief Rabbi of Romania Moshe David Rosen made it clear today that he had indeed declared about 2 months ago that this new regulation would not apply to Jews because immigration [aliya] to Israel did not fall under the pertinent category of immigration [hagira]. Rabbi Rosen said that he had made that declaration based on a promise made to him by a most high-ranking official in the Romanian administration. In effect, the Romanian authorities have fulfilled their promise and abstained from collecting the fees from 40 Jews who have left Romania since 6 November 1982, the day the law took effect. However, for a few days now, Rabbi Rosen noted, he has learned from the Jewish Congregations Committee in Romania that the authorities have also begun demanding tuition fees from Jews immigrating to Israel just as they have regarding anyone else who leaves Romania.

"Just as at the time I proclaimed the positive approach of the Bucharest authorities, I now see it as my duty to announce the change that has occurred in Romania, and say that the new law has also been applied to Jews," he said.

Rabbi Rosen said this upon returning to Tel Aviv from a visit to the United States, where he and other members of a delegation of Jewish leaders in the United States met with President Reagan. Also on the delegation, in addition to Rabbi Rosen, were also Messrs Brongman, Berman and Spietel. The rabbi described the conversation with the president as friendly.

CSO: 4423/93

'CREATIVE SPIRIT' UNITES THEORY, PRACTICE IN SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 25 Dec 82 pp 6-9

/Article by Prof Dr Petru Panzaru, Stefan Gheorghiu Academy: "Unity of Theory and Practice in the Development of the New Order"/

/Text/ The National Party Conference was a new and important occasion of political, theoretical, ideological and practical synthesis of the present stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society in Romania, and it outlined the ways of consistently implementing the developmental programs and directives ratified by the 12th Party Congress in the light of the new socioeconomic phenomena and processes appearing in the last few years, the ramifications of the present international situation, and the objective necessities and possibilities of considerably increasing the efficiency and productivity of socioeconomic activity.

By virtue of the soundness of its ideas, the creative spirit that inspires them, and its broad receptiveness to the new socioeconomic, political, ideological, national and international developments, Nicolae Ceausescu's report to the National Party Conference is of vast theoretical and practical importance, providing an extraordinary wealth of material on the increasingly complex relationship between theory and practice in the historic task of building the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

Especially since the Ninth Party Congress in 1965 Romania has followed the course of accelerated and wholesome socioeconomic and political development as the 10th, 11th and 12th party congresses and the national party conferences in 1972, 1977 and 1982 confirmed and amplified the innovating, revolutionary trend that Nicolae Ceausescu as chief of state and party lent the entire undertaking of socialist construction and formation of the new man.

New, complicated and unprecedented problems on both the national and world levels called for bold, dialectical and historical materialist theoretical and political thinking fraught with creative spirit, free of preconceived ideas and patterns, and receptive to the social developments and scientific achievements of the period.

The party secretary general, whose name is associated with the most fertile period in Romania's history, was and is the originator of this original scientific and political thinking opposed to any dogmas or stereotypes.

I might say that their tireless creative and revolutionary spirit, intolerant of stagnation, routine, conservatism and anachronism in both thought and social action, is the outstanding characteristic of all the theoretical and practical work of Nicolae Ceausescu and the RCP.

In this spirit the report to the National Party Conference says that "In the new stage of Romania's social development we must draw conclusions on a number of subjects. As the documents of the June Plenum of the Central Committee point out, we must resolutely proceed from the necessity of discarding all that is old, outmoded and out of step with the new developmental stage and make way for the new by rejecting the dogmatic conceptions, preconceived ideas, and principles that have seen their day, so to speak."

Constructive Power of the Creative Spirit

There is no question that the creative spirit, originality and innovating power of the RCP's policy are based upon its ability, acquired in the revolutionary struggle, to make use of the theoretical-methodological principles of dialectical and historical materialism without making a fetish of any one principle or regarding the classics' theory as a source of ready-made "miracle" solutions to any problem of the particular revolutionary activity. The classics did not think for or in the position of Marxists of all times and all countries. They developed provisional principles and scientific methods of analyzing the particular specific-historical socioeconomic facts, which implicitly require original thinking capable of finding answers to new problems and unprecedented situations.

Engels said, "The materialist method is contradicted if it is used as a ready-made pattern to which the historical facts are adjusted instead of a guide to the study of history." Historical-materialist dialectics is not a philosophical or political religion with sacrosanct principles and centralized authorities pronouncing absolute and generally binding truths for sanctioning and reforming the "heretics." And by its very nature dialectical and historical materialism, as the sole and uniform philosophical basis of socialist and communist political thought and practice, cannot enter into the monopolist regime of any one person, party or state. Like any science, Marxism is subject to the rules for forming, substantiating, checking and changing the scientific propositions. All this has to be brought up again today for at least two reasons. One is the objective fact that Marxist theory is now faced with a huge volume of new problems and facts with an extremely complicated structure and a very pronounced evolution. Unfortunately the risk of lagging behind events because of a dogmatic, pedantic attitude toward Marxism is not a mere supposition. The other reason is the equally apparent recurrence of tendencies to identify Marxism with one of its contemporary interpretations and socialism with a single variant of its specific-historical makeup. Diversification of social experience in the struggle for the new society, the infinite variety of historical conditions, and the maturity of revolutionary thinking made it inevitable and necessary to institute many "laboratories" of creative, original Marxist thought now in the advantageous position of comparing and contrasting ideas and results and independently preparing

measures and programs most suited to the objective and subjective national conditions that none but the revolutionary party of the working class in the respective country can know and most accurately perceive. From former, historically outmoded stages of Marxist thought some have retained one-sided views and entertain petrified, obsolete ideas that they even wish to impose upon others.

Since socioeconomic, political, ideological and cultural activity keeps generating new trends and phenomena and undergoes structural changes with many consequences that are often long term, it is quite natural for new elements, ideas, measures and perspectives to gain ground in theory. Furthermore, theory performs its characteristic functions when it is not satisfied with ex post facto synthesis and generalization of social experience and tries to forecast future events and situations, to substantiate new options and decisions, and to suggest courses of action to attain the pragmatic goals and prevent dysfunctional and undesirable developments, by interpreting the regular, objective trend of social development. For as Gramsci commented, "To regard any given conception of the world and life as superior in itself because of its ability to predict is a mistake of gross arrogance and superficiality... Actually we "foresee" insofar as we act and make a voluntary effort, thereby making a specific contribution to the "predicted" result." ("Selected Works," Political Publishing House, 1969, pp 160, 104)

Under the present circumstances revolutionary theory and practice are unified, theory is enlivened and practice is lent theoretical significance by several extremely important objective factors.

First is the matter of assimilating the strategic goal the party set for the present stage of socialist construction in Romania, namely transition from the stage of a developing country to that of a country with medium economic development, which requires improvement of all scientific social management and planning as well as high effectiveness for socioeconomic activity. This offers a wide field for cooperation between scientific theory and social practice.

Second and closely related to this is the fact that the party has concentrated all socioeconomic activity upon attainment of a new quality of work and life through widespread application of the advances of the scientific-technical revolution and professional, technical, scientific, political, ideological and cultural improvement of all workers.

Third comes the RCP's main emphasis upon combination of both theoretical and practical efforts to solve the problems of overall socioeconomic development for all society with the effort to solve the everyday problems of the workers collectives and units, social groups and individuals. Although theory is concerned by its nature with the general, it is not truthful or useful if it loses sight of the particular and individual or fails to make the natural connection between general and particular and between abstract and concrete.

And fourth is the extraordinarily growing complexity of national and international social existence, of interactions between social and natural phenomena and between social and ecological systems, and of the nations' interdependence in their efforts to resolve mankind's global problems. Only a considerable volume of precise, verified and verifiable facts and figures well organized and systematized in regard to the specific conditions of man's and the nations' existence

and in regard to possibilities, aspirations, values, attitudes, experience, successes and attempts will provide the theoretical process with the subject matter essential to its viability and to the best performances in basic and applied research work.

Thanks to the party's vast and comprehensive efforts as a leading force of the people, as a nation we have more experience, vision and wisdom today as well as more and higher political culture. That fact is extremely important, because culture alone, which naturally and necessarily includes political culture in its content, meets the needs of inventive, original and creative thought and provides the bases for active, efficient and knowledgeable participation of the masses in social management.

Scientific, political and ideological discussions as well as regular comparison of theoretical principles with experience make an essential contribution to further consolidation of the ties between theory and practice. The theoretical disputes are unquestionably vital and necessary, but it is only the discussions and procedures that are based upon the facts and real phenomena of experience and upon practice that maintain regular contact with practice and go back to it to make it more effective. If we regard experience and practice as the foundation and "launching pad" of the scientific discussions, their theoretical level not only does not decline but rises to the height from which broad areas of the real can be envisaged and the heart of the studied social phenomena can be reached.

Nicolae Ceausescu's entire work provides a model of unity between social theory and practice and of the greatest theoretical feeling for the complex problems of existence and the constantly changing social realities. It graphically demonstrates that true fidelity to the theoretical legacy of Marxism-Leninism lies in creativeness and in using the dialectical and historical materialist method as a flexible intellectual tool for discovery, analysis and synthesis of the complicated dialectics of contemporary social experience. In this view the concepts of dialectical and historical materialism, scientific socialism and political economics are not regarded as any unchanging "containers" in a closed and isolated ideological laboratory, "containers" into which a static reality devoid of unprecedented surprises is poured. It is the concepts that should be molded to fit the new facts and not the reverse, and when the concepts ("containers") have become obsolete and no longer contain a trace of the living water of reality no consideration can stop their discard and replacement with concepts and theories adapted to the social developments.

"As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of June 1982, "We have analyzed and drawn a number of conclusions from the practical work of the party and the Romanian people in socialist construction. Experience has confirmed many general rules and principles concerning socialist construction but it has also disproved a number of points and made us realize that some general rules and principles no longer correspond to the new developmental stage of Romanian socialist society, and we have drawn and should draw the appropriate conclusions from this."

The basic theoretical principle of Nicolae Ceausescu's thinking is the principle of reality, and the main concept of this thinking is life. The essential

criterion for judging the truthfulness and health of a theory, principle or concept is the criterion of practice, social practice seen in all its complexity and dynamism and consequently without anything in common with narrow, circumstantial pragmatism with no breadth or historical perspective.

The theory and practice of socialist revolution and construction have been and are constantly enriched by the RCP and its secretary general in all essential areas of national and international socioeconomic, political and ideological activity. Since we can make no detailed analysis here, we shall list some of the key problems wherein the original theoretical contributions of the secretary general and the RCP (masterfully summarized in the RCP Program approved by the 11th Party Congress and in Nicolae Ceausescu's entire work) brought about the renovation of social-political practice, an ebullience of ideological activity, and the comparisons of ideas on the national and international levels. It is primarily a matter of the principles of the fully developed socialist society and its specific goals; of the objective nature of contradictions in socialism and the ways of overcoming them so as to avoid their development into social antagonisms and clashes; of the directions of development of socialist democratism, provision for the masses' participation in self-management, and abandonment of the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat because it no longer reflects the new nature of the Romanian state and society; of the improvement of scientific planning, organization and management of socialist society; of consolidation of party leadership and its complete integration in society; of relations between the party and state in the present and future stages; of the particular role of the mass and public organizations and trade unions, which are no longer seen as mere "driving belts" between the party and the working masses; and of the necessity and possibility for socialist awareness to become a powerful material force, upon rejection of the debilitating theory of the inevitable lag of social awareness behind the new socialist social existence. The principles of the role and position of the nation in general, of the socialist nation in particular, and of national sovereignty and independence in contemporary social progress and those of creating a new kind of relations among socialist countries and communist and workers parties on the basis of respect for autonomy and equal collaboration, as well as his ideas about promoting a new kind of relations between the large and small states, establishing a new international economic and political order, and achieving European security and disarmament (especially nuclear disarmament), are enjoying a widespread international response and helping to create a world of equal rights and international justice, a world of peace and friendly collaboration, and a better and more just world, as the party secretary general has often expressed it.

By making maximum use of the ideas and theoretical guidelines developed by the party and its secretary general, the social scientists are expected to make their own contribution to the study and theoretical correlation of the new social facts and to further expansion of the channels of communication between theory and practice. For this they must be in contact not only with the books but also with life and social experience. As Nicolae Ceausescu quite rightly pointed out, "It is inconceivable that the theory and the new problems should be developed anywhere, by any people apart from specific activity, daily work and life, and party and state procedure. Any such theory or conception will be inadequate from the start because it will ignore the realities of our existence!"

Social research will not achieve its theoretical and practical goals or be able to provide good ideas and alternative solutions to social problems unless it is planned and implemented in the spirit and on the principles of the interdisciplinary approach and unless it definitely abandons the monodisciplinary, narrow, departmental and segmented treatment of social phenomena, since as we know they do not actually occur as purely economic, purely political, purely legal and other such phenomena but as a composite, integrated and interdependent structure wherein isolation of any one aspect or element modifies the overall picture and condemns the knowledge to partiality and social ineffectiveness. Since the social phenomena and processes are single, closely interrelated structures in real life, their interdisciplinary study is accordingly essential to unity of theory and practice and to the greater usefulness and effectiveness of the studies in the socioeconomic sciences.

And here too the party documents and Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's work provide a model of the comprehensive, complete and uniform treatment of the national and international social phenomena seen in their dynamic interrelation. The speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982 as well as the report to the recent National Party Conference serve as examples of this. From the standpoint of the revolutionary dialectical and historical materialist conception, such problems are analyzed in depth as the role of the productive forces in connection with that of socialist awareness and the revolutionary conception and thinking in social development, in improvement of social organization, and in historical progress; the significance of the main points in the history of the Romanian people and the evolution of the Romanian nation in close connection with the development of the socialist nation, the correct solution of the minorities problem, the present tasks of mass political education, and the basic aim of the present stage of socialist construction (attainment of a new quality of the entire people's work and life); the directions of development and modernization of the technical-material base and of enhancement of economic effectiveness in connection with development of socialist ownership, improvement of social and production relations, consolidation of workers self-management, improvement of the organized framework for mass participation in social management; development of the state's role and the dialectical relationship of the party and state and between the latter and the workers democratic bodies; and the inseparable tie between domestic and foreign policy.

Objective Laws and Dialectics of Social Existence

An acute need for theory continues to be felt. Neither in the past nor even less today, with the growing complexity and dynamism of social experience and the powerful impact of the scientific-technical revolution upon all forms of human activity, can economic, organizational, administrative and educational activity dispense with theoretical bases and perspectives. If we take just one example, in education, we find that practical instructive-educational work is faced with many problems and difficulties, with varying degrees of efficiency, and with demands for modernization and adjustment to the particular conditions of the present period and to the new pontentials and needs of the young generations. Procedure in this field cannot be rationalized without new theoretical approaches to renovate and adjust the conception of the educational processes. But now the demands are not solely upon the psychological and pedagogical sciences but upon the social sciences as a whole, which are called upon to explain in detail the

requirements for socialist education of the masses, from generalities and general recommendations to educational strategies based on "X-rays" of the awareness of various categories of the population according to the answer to the unfortunately rarely formulated question, what happens to the values of socialist awareness from one generation to another and, accordingly, what educational processes and strategies must be devised and applied in practice to perpetuate and not impair the nucleus of those values in the social-natural process of the change of generations?

The optimal connection between theory and practice heavily depends upon, if it does not in a way even begin with, the choice of the subjects to which the theoretical investigation is applied, with the certainty that they are important and valid, and with the way the problems are formulated that are to be solved by theoretical-scientific means. The theoretical study does not prove its truthfulness and social usefulness in practice unless its "worksite" is located in essential subject areas urgently required by experience and practice and not in the marginal, exhausted ones, unless the formulation and treatment of the problems withstands speculative, doctrinaire and pedantic temptations, and unless the investment of thought is rewarded by an access of knowledge.

There are theorists (Why not say so?) who, strangely enough, think that the theories alone and not the facts of actual social experience are the "raw material" of new theoretical products. There are doctrinaires who avidly discuss and relish the previously formulated doctrines and present the history of the doctrines as the main body of the social sciences. They seem convinced that theoretical works should be made of other theoretical works and appear upset and insulted when they are tersely told that the already formulated doctrines and theories are preludes or antechambers to the social sciences and studies and that the subject of the latter is not the doctrines or theories as such but the contemporary specific-historical social-human realities themselves. A geologist fully realizes that the geologic structure of the soil in a given region is the subject of his studies and not the technical treatises or the successive theories advanced. It is a truth that is not understood or forgotten by some representatives of the social-humanist sciences who lose their way among authors and works and are lost in the dense forest of theories and doctrines. The problem of relationships between the requirements of the objective laws of social development in general, those of socialist construction in particular, and the rational, purposeful activity of people, the masses and the social managers is one example among other possible ones of how much remains to be done to make the functional correlation of theory and practice.

We find one of the most serious consequences of dogmatism in the interpretation and presentation of the action of the social laws. These attitudes fluctuate between disarming and demobilizing fatalism, which the RCP rejects on principle, and the voluntarism that causes certain and often tragic failures in social action. More profound explanations of how the social laws operate are still required of our theory.

The socioeconomic laws and the theory concerning them are both theoretically and practically inoperative when they are regarded as pure abstractions or magical formulas devoid of any human content or involvement. Actually, how do we imagine any social law can be formed or operate in the absence of the people who compose

the real societies? Some present the situation as if the objective social laws acted in some way outside the society upon people instead of within the society and through people, whether or not the latter have scientific, theoretical knowledge and awareness of those laws. The truth is that whether or not the social laws are known (theoretically formulated) by people, they are laws of social-human activities and relations and they cannot operate without awareness. The socialist order is characterized by the effort to make the whole social-historical process known so that the masses will act in knowledge of the objective requirements of the social laws and accordingly obtain maximum productivity and efficiency in their entire activity.

It is not enough to state that the social laws in general and the laws of socialist revolution and construction in particular operate solely through people and that they are in fact laws of activities and relations among people as conscious beings, organized in communities, nations and social classes, categories and strata. It is vital to give a clear and theoretically substantiated answer (and this answer must be considered in practice) to the question of just how and by what specific and characteristically human elements and mechanisms the requirements of the objective laws are met or not met and how they make headway and conform to the historical necessities or how they are delayed or temporarily diverted from their course.

Only a careful analysis of the facts and historical experience can extricate theory from difficulty or the state of uncertainty between the conceptual "heaven" and the "earth" of social reality or protect theory from speculation and practice from stagnation or regression, while the facts and social experience have demonstrated that even if they are known theoretically the social laws, and even those most favorable to progress, impose their desirable requirements only through the intermediary of human motivations. The internal motives, that is the needs that have been preceived and become interests, and the social purposes that have been assimilated and accordingly become progressive aspirations, ideals and convictions, they alone make it possible to transform the requirements and demands of the objective social laws into revolutionary social reforms. Without awareness there is no social change or progress.

The emphasis placed by the RCP and its secretary general upon the dialectical unity between development of the productive forces (wherein the primary active element is the worker with all his physical and mental energies) and development of socialist awareness opens up some of the most important prospects for the theoretical and practical effort to understand the particular way in which the requirements of the laws of socialist revolution and construction will take effect. "We must always bear in mind that the mode of thought, social awareness, and the degree of development of science, education and culture depend upon the material base of society and the method of producing and distributing the material goods, while social awareness, science, education, culture and ideological and political education play an important part in development of the productive forces. Both aspects of activity are interdependent and in a dialectical unity, and they secure society's further progress, the people's greater good, and consolidation of national sovereignty and independence."

As both practical experience and sociological and psychological research have demonstrated, the actual economic effectiveness of any productive activity depends

not only upon technical-economic factors (installations, equipment, raw materials, energy, investments etc.) but also, and critically, upon noneconomic factors (organizational, legal, psychosocial and psychomoral) such as the level of workers qualification, cooperative atmosphere, management's approach, sense of order, discipline and responsibility, attitude toward work and its quality, innovating spirit and its encouragement, confidence in personal creative power, collective opinion's intolerance of defects, shortcomings and violations, level of aspirations and, in general, the degree of socialist, professional, political and civic awareness of the participants in the production process.

The foregoing psychosocial factors of awareness are directly reflected on the economic-financial balance sheets in the form of lower production costs, higher labor productivity and product quality, less waste and rejects, greater profitability of the respective unit's whole activity, implementation of workers self-management, and use of the great internal reserves in every economic and social unit. Economic effectiveness, output, quality, productivity, sense of responsibility and discipline, economic spirit etc. are requirements related to awareness, which is a mental and psychosocial state with its own laws of formation, change and transformation that must be studied, known and used.

As we know, working with people is the essence of political management in all fields and on all levels. It provides for organization, mobilization and unification of their efforts and energies for complete implementation of the socio-economic tasks on every job and of the party policy as a whole. The RCP regards working with people as one of the main concerns of its organizations and an essential feature of political-ideological activity and of all activity.

People's ideas and attitudes are on the "control panel" of their behavior in all social activities. It is urgently necessary to study the processes of forming, influencing and changing awareness, the factors determining individual, group and mass attitudes, opinions and behavior that affect or determine performance in economic, political, organization, ideological, educational and propaganda activity, and the factors obstructing or impeding prompt and proper implementation of tasks, programs, decisions, laws, measures, pledges etc.

The social sciences, in their inseparable link with social practice and experience, can make a valuable contribution to all the highly urgent objectives in connection with economic effectiveness. The whole political, organizational and ideological effort fully involves the psychosocial factors, such as revolutionary spirit, high communist and party standards, sense of responsibility, order and discipline, firmness, opposition to defects, to tendencies toward complacency and expediency, and to routine bureaucracy, spirit of criticism and self-criticism, revolutionary dedication and romanticism, patriotism, confidence in personal strength, intolerance of recurrences of nationalism and chauvinism of any kind, etc. Today it is clearer than ever that it is not enough to study and acquire theoretical knowledge of social awareness (of its forms). We must study and know the ways and the extent to which the values and aims (requirements) of socialist awareness exist in the real awareness of the actual, living people in Romanian society and in the communities where they perform their practical activity.

Furthermore it is the basic and most important mission of political education to convert the requirements, values, standards, principles and particular

criteria of socialist society and of the RCP's ideology and policy, which are formulated in the RCP Program, the party documents, and the code of socialist ethics and justice, to convictions and motivations and consequently to the daily behavior of all communists and members of the Union of Communist Youth, their families, and all citizens of Romania. Clearly this is the most difficult undertaking, since it is in the area of awareness that the struggle between new and old, between new socialist ideas and attitudes and the old bourgeois and petty bourgeois ones, manifest themselves most acutely. As the party secretary general quite rightly pointed out, "It is easier to build factories and secure economic development than it is to completely eradicate the various backward ideas from people's awareness... Moreover any neglect of political indoctrination affects production. The higher we raise the level of awareness and the more intelligently and purposefully people act, the further they will perform their functions and tasks in all fields and under all circumstances."

These are a few considerations and aspects of the relationships between theory and practice in the strategy for creating fully developed socialism. The documents of the National Party Conference make many other points that of course require in-depth discussion.

As we know, the discussions at the National Party Conference and the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June concentrated on the problems of the present stage of socialist construction in Romania and the theoretical and ideological problems of the party's political-educational work. Discussion of these problems in the party and with the people as a whole and their entry on the agenda of the recent National Party Conference will inevitably lead to better understanding of the course taken by the Romanian people and the radical changes that have taken place in Romanian socialist society and in international politics, and also to better efforts to consistently implement the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

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SOLUTION OF NATIONAL MINORITY PROBLEM HAILED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 25 Dec 82 pp 19-22

/Article by Dr Eduard Eisenburger, chairman of the Council of Working People of German Nationality in the Socialist Republic of Romania: "The Solution to the National Problem--a Splendid Achievement of Our Socialist Society"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

> /Text/ Nicolae Ceausescu, in a report to the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party: "We can be proud of the way in which we have provided the solution to the national problem, creating conditions for participation by the working people of different nationalities, by the whole populace, in the development of the socialist society. We would like the coexisting nationalities in all countries to possess at least the same rights and freedoms as those existing in Romania."

The atmosphere of strong patriotic spirit in which, from one end of the country to the other, all its sons--Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbs and other nationalities--are expressing their full adhesion to the decisions of the national conference of the party--a political event of particular significance for the communist destinies of our people--and, at the same time, closely united around the Romanian Communist Party, are welcoming the celebration of the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of the republic also occasions, naturally, a retrospective of the glorious course traveled in this interval by the working people, by our people, masters of their fate. From the height of the achievements obtained through great efforts, sometimes in harsh confrontation with hostile circumstances, we note with legitimate pride and satisfaction that the experience of the construction of socialism in Romania demonstrates strongly the brilliant way in which the Romanian Communist Party has managed to solve problems vital to the progress of our homeland: the elimination of social and economic backwardness and the erection of a new, superior material and spiritual civilization; the creation of a better life for the broad working masses; the abolition of any social and national discrimination and exploitation; the achievement of full equality in rights for all citizens, regardless of nationality; the creation of the conditions for the direct and effective participation of all working people, of the whole populace, in the management of society, for the providing of the government of the state by the people themselves, free to decide, by themselves and consciously, their own fate.

Socialist Romania arises from the thought and will of all its sons, without any regard to nationality. The common aspirations and strivings and the unbending unity

of the whole populace around the party constitute, at the same time, the vivid expression of the unanimously recognized truth according to which the erection of socialism is the result of the common efforts of the Romanian people and the coexisting nationalities, who are implementing, in a strong patriotic spirit, the policy of the Communist Party.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "Romania is numbered among the few countries that have solved the national problem in a democratic, humanistic way, and precisely this explains why the whole populace, including the coexisting nationalities, supports fully the party's domestic and foreign policy."* The active participation of all the nationalities in our homeland, together with the Romanian people, in the process of continually improving and developing the Romanian socialist society is also explained by the dialectics of this process, in which, on the one hand, the coexisting nationalities make their contribution to developing the whole society and, on the other hand, the progress of the whole society--including the prosperity of the Romanian nation--provides favorable conditions for the socialist development of the coinhabiting nationalities in Romania. This is why /the revolutionary solution to the national problem and, on this basis, the forging of the brotherly unity and friendship of all the working people, this representing a brilliant victory of the Communist Party, occupy a leading place in the constellation of the great achievements gained by our people in the years of socialism/.

In the report to the national conference of the party on 16-18 December of this year, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu reaffirmed strongly the basic principles of the RCP's policy on the national problem, a policy completely validated by history, by the entire historical development of our homeland. Pointing out the necessity of doing everything to develop the new traits of our socialist nation, the secretary general of the party stressed, at the same time, that "in view of the existence of the coexisting nationalities in Romania, as a result of historical development and of coexisting for centuries, we must steadily apply our party's Marxist-Leninist policy on the national problem, providing in all fields full equality in rights and equal participation by all citizens, regardless of nationality, in the management of society."

An Integral Part of the Program of the Romanian Communist Party

Since its founding, the Romanian Communist Party, regarding the solution to the national problem as an integral part of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, for socialism, has acted unhesitatingly to protect the vital interests of all the working people, regardless of nationality, has waged an uncompromising struggle against the policy of national feuding and oppression promoted by the ruling classes. Precisely due to this principled orientation, in the period between the two world wars, when the working-class movement, led by the Romanian Communist Party, was manifesting itself more and more vigorously in political life, the Romanian, Hungarian, German, Serbian and other-nationality working people were found together on the barricades of the revolutionary struggle against the unjust practices of the bourgeois-landlord regime, with the RCP uniting in its ranks the most advanced sons of the Romanian people and of the coexisting nationalities. Despite

* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate" /Romania on the Way to Constructing the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society/, Vol 16, Politica Publishing House, 1979, p 282.

the attempts of the exploiting classes and their political parties to set the Romanians at odds with those of another nationality, the militant solidarity of those who work, regardless of nationality, asserted itself on all planes of economic, social, political and spiritual life. It developed and strengthened in the great battle for the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship, for the freedom and independence of the common homeland.

The victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation marked the start of a new, qualitatively higher stage in the process of cementing the brotherly unity of all citizens of the country. As is known, in the very first months after the country's liberation, there was adopted, on 6 February 1945, on the RCP's initiative, the Statute of the Nationalities, which repealed the discriminatory laws, proclaiming all citizens' equality in rights, and with the establishment, on 6 March 1945, of the first democratic government in the country's history, the party's policy on the national problem became a state policy. In the next stage--under the conditions when all political power was gained by the working class and its allies--the Romanian Communist Party proceeded decisively to implement its policy on the national problem, and the Marxist-Leninist solution to this problem in our country became an integral part of the erection of the new Romanian socialist society.

"The national problem, the policy on the nationalities," the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, pointed out, "cannot be correctly understood and solved except within the framework of the general policy, of the revolutionary struggle and united work for forging socialism and communism."* On the basis of this thesis, the Romanian Communist Party put in its program the provision according to which "the concern for providing the coexisting nationalities' full equality in rights, for solving their specific problems, for cementing the unity and brotherhood of the working people, regardless of nationality, preserves its entire importance in the period of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and gradually proceeding to communism."**

And in the implementation of the party's national policy, the period inaugurated by the ninth congress stands out as the most fertile one, a period in which this policy acquired a more comprehensive, multilateral character, pursuing the solution to the national problem in a real and profound way, in all its essential aspects and components. At the same time, it should be pointed out that /the decisive role in synthesizing the experience gained by our party during the decades of struggle for social and national liberation, in theoretically substantiating and practically applying the national policy, as well as the whole policy of the party in the period marked by the 9th-12th congresses, goes to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu/. Developing in a creative way and enriching with new theoretical theses scientific socialism's treasury of ideas, the secretary general of the party, the chairman of the republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, outlined in this field too clear, far-reaching orientations, substantiated the /unitary/ and /original/ conception that guides the practical activity of developing the brotherly friendship of all inhabitants of the

* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate," Vol 15, Politica Publishing House, 1978, p 564.

**"Congresul al XI-lea al Partidului Comunist Roman" /The 11th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party/, Politica Publishing House, 1975, p 704.

country--Romanians, Hungarians, Germans, Serbs or other nationalities. Through the studies made, through the original solutions given, the Romanian Communist Party has made a notable contribution to defining the place, role and prospect of the nationalities under socialism, the theory and practice in the field of national relations.

The Political and Institutional Framework

The political and economic foundation for guaranteeing democratic rights and freedoms, for really achieving the equality of all those who work, regardless of nationality, was forged step by step, stage by stage, in the process of the construction of socialism. In these years, the unity and brotherhood between the Romanian nation and the coexisting nationalities acquired /a new political basis/--the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry and the other working people; /a new economic basis/--socialist production relations, based on public, socialist ownership of the means of production; /a new ideological basis/--the dialectical- and historical-materialistic outlook on the world and life. /The elimination of the exploiting classes and of the country's economic, social, political and cultural backwardness and the definitive victory of the new order made it possible to solve the national problem in Romania, there being provided on this basis, constitutionally and materially, de jure and de facto, the coexisting nationalities' equality in rights with the Romanian people, equal possibilities of affirmation and development for all citizens of the homeland, regardless of nationality/.

Regarding the political and institutional framework that guarantees juridical equality among all citizens of the country, it is worth noting that the provisions referring to the equality of the coexisting nationalities with the Romanian people, provisions stated in the Statute of the Nationalities, were broadened and laid down in the country's constitution of 13 April 1948 and then in that of 24 September 1952, which describe the achievements obtained by the Romanian people in the work of erecting socialism, including in solving the national problem. Reflecting the living reality of our times, the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania of 21 August 1965 notes: "The citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania, regardless of nationality, race, sex or religion, have equal rights in all fields of economic, political, juridical, social and cultural life. The state guarantees the citizens' equality in rights. No restriction of these rights and no difference in exercising them on the basis of nationality, race, sex or religion are permitted. Any manifestation having as a goal the establishment of such restrictions, nationalistic and chauvinistic propaganda, and the incitement of racial or national hatred are punished by law." In addition, the basic law of the country specifies: "In the Socialist Republic of Romania, free use of the mother tongue, and books, newspapers, magazines, theaters and education of all grades in their own language, are provided to the coexisting nationalities. In the territorial-administrative units also inhabited by a population of another nationality than the Romanian one, all bodies and institutions also use in speech and writing the language of the respective nationalities and make appointments of functionaries from them or from other citizens who know the language and the way of life of the local population."**

* "Constitutia Republicii Socialiste Romania" /The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania/, Title II, Art 17, Politica Publishing House, 1965, p 17.

**Ibidem, Art 22, p 8.

These truly democratic provisions legitimate the profound changes that occurred in the important field of national relations in our country. They were prepared from a whole bunch of political and juridical measures, adopted and implemented in the years after liberation. At the same time, the constitutional provisions are supplemented by laws and decrees, by other regulatory acts meant to perfect the entire legislation referring to the coexisting nationalities.

Material Guarantees

Sanctioning by law and consistently pursuing the full equality of all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, our party started from the truth, confirmed by history, that political rights and freedoms are truly valid and lasting only if they rest on a solid economic basis, if all members of society have the possibility of benefiting equally from the fruits of the economic development of the country.

To this end, /in the view of the Romanian Communist Party, the harmonious development of the production forces throughout the country and the economic prosperity of all counties and localities of the homeland have a decisive importance. In the final analysis, this represents the decisive factor in the achievement of full equality in rights among all citizens of the country, regardless of nationality, constituting a characteristic element of the general progress of our society/. Thus, the great investment effort was oriented toward the poorly developed counties, in particular. In the 1971-1980 decade, while the average annual rate of growth of the country's industrial output was 11.2 percent, it came to 18.1 percent in Bistrita-Nasaud County, 19 percent in Olt and 21.1 percent in Salaj, for instance. Like the whole country, the zones kept in a marked state of economic backwardness during the bourgeois-landlord regime, also including those with a mixed population, experienced profound changes in economic geography and a fast rate of industrialization. At the same time, the creation of a modern industrial structure in these counties and the infusion of highly technical branches also unleashed extensive changes in the socioprofessional status of the working people in these areas.

For instance, in Harghita County--a county in which a numerical preponderance goes to the inhabitants of Hungarian nationality, more precisely the Szeklers, whose home areas, although rich in forests and mineral deposits, did not provide daily bread to those who lived there, due to economic backwardness, a reason why they found themselves compelled to scour the country far and wide in search of work--the results of the policy of industrialization are now evinced to the full. In the 1966-1981 period, this county received nearly 21 billion lei in investments, of which industry got over 10 billion lei, materialized in 25 new enterprises, which permitted the creation of nearly 60,000 new workplaces, thus forever putting an end to the migration of the people of this area in search of work. The unprecedented economic development has produced deep implications in the very quality of life of the people.

The Directive Program for Economic and Social Development of Romania in Territorial Form in the 1981-1985 Period, approved by the 12th congress, is coming to life in this way, a program that, as is specified in the resolution of the congress, will provide "the necessary framework for the balanced placement of the production forces on the territory, the better utilization of the material and labor resources existing in each zone, the equalization of the counties with regard to the level of gross output and the use of labor resources, the systematization and modernization of the network of cities and communes, and the creation of all the conditions so that the

equality in rights that the citizens of our homeland possess, regardless of nationality, may rest on the stable foundation of growth in the economic potential of all counties and localities."*

We are merely pointing out an incontestable truth of our realities when we recall that, on the basis of such an orientation of the Romanian Communist Party, of the consistent application of this policy, /the solution to the national problem in Romania is materialized in the fact that all the rights gained go equally to all citizens of the country. All the working people in Romania, regardless of nationality, possess the right to work and to remuneration according to the quantity and quality of the work done/. Everything that exists in the Socialist Republic of Romania--the fields and forests, the resources of the soil and subsoil--and everything that we have built and are building in the years of socialism with the industry of our hands and the ingenuity of our creative thought--plants and factories, schools and research laboratories--belong equally to all sons of the homeland, at once producers and owners of the means of production, masters and beneficiaries of all social wealth.

Effective Participation

The extent to which a nationality participates effectively in the exercise of state power and is involved in the concrete resolution of state and public affairs in the different fields of activity also represents an essential aspect of its position. This aspect has a broader significance, also constituting at the same time an important standard for judging the depth and consistency of socialist democracy, if we bear in mind that the essence of democracy consists precisely of the participation of the broad masses in the management of all social, political and state life.

At a time when a number of sociologists and politicians in the West are according less and less importance to equality--as a basic value of democracy, without which it is not possible to conceive of implementing the basic principles of the system of political leadership in which the power is held by the people--our party not only is steadily promoting such a value but also is creating the conditions needed, including the organizational and institutional framework, for putting it into practice. In our party's view, equality constitutes a true structural principle of the whole system of social organization, equality understood, of course, in its broadest sense, equality to which all the working people have access, regardless of nationality, profession, sex or degree of training. /In can be judged that all the measures adopted by our party and state in recent years, on an economic, political, social or cultural plane, have as a common denominator precisely the constant concern of providing to all citizens who live on the land of socialist Romania equal conditions for affirmation, for multilateral development of the personality/.

The effective participation of the coexisting nationalities is shown concretely by their active presence in the process of material production, in the making of the decisions and choices regarding the management of economic, social and cultural activity, in the implementation of the party's policy in the basic and territorial-administrative units, but also in their contribution, on a macrosocial level, to the devising of all domestic and foreign policy, to political and administrative leadership, to all social life.

* "Congresul al XII-lea al Partidului Comunist Roman" /The 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party/, Politica Publishing House, 1981, pp 878-879.

Direct participation in political and state power means, first of all, the inclusion of an equitable number of representatives of the coexisting nationalities in all party and state bodies. Analyzing this aspect, we find that the Romanian Communist Party--a government party--by uniting in its ranks the best sons of the people, regardless of nationality, itself reflects the social and national structure of the country's population. A large number of activists from the coexisting nationalities belong to the Central Committee, the Political Executive Committee, the Central Auditing Commission and the Central Party Collegium--elective leadership bodies of the RCP. At the same time, the number of personnel from the nationalities who have been promoted to various elective leadership bodies has risen. Thus, thousands and thousands of the best party members coming from the Hungarians, Germans and Serbs belong to the bureaus of the local party organizations and of the communal, city and enterprise party committees and to bureaus of the county party committees. In some counties, the position of first secretary of the county party committee and chairman of the county people's council is held by representatives of the coexisting nationalities.

/The national structure of the country's population is also faithfully reflected in the composition of all the state bodies. Of the 369 deputies in the Grand National Assembly--the supreme body of state power, the sole legislative body of the country--41 of them--that is, 11 percent--come from the nationalities, a proportion corresponding to the national structure in our country/. Of all the deputies elected in the elections on 21 November of this year, 84 percent in Harghita County and 78 percent in Covasna County are Hungarian; in Sibiu County, 20 percent of the deputies are German; in Brasov County, 12 percent are Hungarian and 6.2 percent German; in Maramures County, 7 percent are Hungarian and 8.4 percent Ukrainian. It should be borne in mind that, in many communes, the position of mayor and, in the management of cities, municipalities and counties, the position of vice chairman or--as was already pointed out--even the position of chairman of the people's council are held by representatives of the coexisting nationalities. The same thing also holds true for the mass and public organizations and other collective bodies.

Regarding such a situation, a specification of a principled nature seems necessary to us: the members of the Central Committee, the Political Executive Committee and the government or the deputies in the Grand National Assembly belonging to the coexisting nationalities are de jure and de facto representatives of all those who elected them, regardless of nationality. They are not limited in their activity to concerns that involve only a certain population, but demonstrate, through the position that they hold, the fully equal rights that those who work, regardless of nationality, possess in our country, the real possibilities that all citizens have of asserting themselves, of developing and fulfilling their own personality. In addition, the fact should also be specified that, in contrast to the not too distant past, the mission of these representatives is not to identify and protect the rights of the nationalities, since the one that represents the interests of the coexisting nationalities in Romania, as well as of our whole populace, is the Romanian Communist Party, and the ones that solve their specific problems are also the party and the Romanian socialist state.

Hence, the scientific conclusion according to which /the Romanian Communist Party's policy of a Marxist-Leninist solution to the national problem finds its expression in the new, higher stage that the process of growth in the political and social cohesion of the working people, regardless of nationality, is experiencing/. Of

course, the massive involvement of the coexisting nationalities in social and political life, their collaboration in the most perfect unity with the Romanian people, and their stronger and stronger integration into the effort to construct the multilaterally developed socialist society are not at all to the liking of reactionary circles abroad. Consequently, these circles also try to interpret the above-mentioned positive phenomena as a form of "disintegration" of the distinctive character of the coexisting nationalities, of gradual "assimilation." However, the truth is that /precisely due to such a climate of real democracy in full action, the nationalities in Romania not only feel even closer to, even more united with the Romanian nation, but also can preserve and develop without hindrance their own distinctive character, their national identity/.

Preservation of the National Specific Character

The feelings of friendship and mutual respect between the Romanian people and the coexisting nationalities, feelings that have acquired a new dimension in socialist Romania, are based not just on an age-old tradition, resulting from many centuries of common work and struggle by those who live together in this ancestral area, contributing, shoulder to shoulder, heart beside heart, to the creation of all material and spiritual values, to the promotion of the progress and civilization of the common homeland. At the same time, they are also based on the theoretical conclusion, contained in the Program of the Romanian Communist Party for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism, according to which, along with the Romanian nation, the coexisting nationalities also have a long future ahead of them.

In accordance with this conviction--springing from a scientific analysis of the era in which we live, from recognition of the perenniality of the nation, as well as of the nationalities--/our party and state have provided the material base and the whole system of cultural and educational institutions needed for maintaining and developing the coinhabiting nationalities/. In this respect, the network of schools of all grades with the mother tongue for teaching, the creation of an intelligentsia of their own, and the providing of a specific spiritual life are in the forefront.

/Thus, the network for education with teaching in the language of the coexisting nationalities--an organic component of the educational system in our country--includes all types of education/, containing 3,245 units and sections with nearly 335,000 children and pupils, for which 16,500 well-trained teaching personnel have been provided. According to teaching language, 280,000 pupils and children are taught in the Hungarian language, over 50,000 in the German language and nearly 5,000 in the Serbo-Croatian, Slovakian, Czech and Ukrainian languages. Of the 12,000 students belonging to the coexisting nationalities, 8,900 are of Hungarian nationality, 2,100 German and over 1,000 of other nationalities, with the lectures also being given in the Hungarian language in 6 institutions of higher learning. Nearly 1,200 university teaching personnel from the coexisting nationalities also perform their activity in higher education.

/Free use of the written word in the mother tongue is also an essential condition for the multilateral affirmation of a coexisting nationality/. Thus, in a single year, the production of books in the languages of the coexisting nationalities totaled 525 titles, with the biggest percentage going to books in the Hungarian and German languages. The Kriterion Publishing House in Bucharest is put exclusively at

the disposal of the coexisting nationalities, publishing books in the Hungarian, German, Serbo-Croatian and Ukrainian languages as well as in Yiddish. The coinhabiting nationalities have 53 newspapers and magazines in their mother tongue--33 in the Hungarian language, 8 in the German language, 3 in the Serbian language and 9 in other languages. The Romanian radio system broadcasts daily in the hungarian, German and Serbo-Croatian languages special programs meant for listeners in these nationalities, and Romanian television produces weekly programs in the Hungarian and German languages. Some 14 state cultural institutions put at the disposal of the coexisting nationalities a rich activity in the field of literary and artistic creation, an intense musical life and a wide artistic movement of amateurs--along with Romanians, over 34,000 groups of the coexisting nationalities, containing 600,000 amateur performers, participated in the latest edition of the "Song of Romania" National Festival. The utilization of the specific progressive traditions of each nationality happily completes the spiritual life in the mother tongue, the methods of preserving and cultivating the national specific character.

On the basis of these conditions, created with much generosity by the Romanian state, the Hungarian, German, Serbian and Ukrainian cultures in our country constitute a historical reality, with a proper, well-defined specific character. Just as it is also a reality that these cultures have been changed, in the last few years, from an "intruder" in the Romanian cultural space--having in the past as a main function the self-defense of the being of the respective community--into /an integral part of socialist Romania's cultural heritage, always enriched with new authentic values, including by the coexisting nationalities/.

A Dynamic Political Concept

Although in our country the national problem is solved, with the full equality of all citizens, regardless of nationality, constituting an incontestable truth and, at the same time, a novel experience of socialist Romania, /the vitality, the receptivity to the new, and the creative spirit characteristic of the entire activity of our party cause it to view this problem too in the context of continual improvement of the whole social organism--therefore, not as a closed political concept, as a finished action, with solutions given once and for all, but as a dynamic process within which new aspects and phenomena always appear, calling for an original solution, depending on the specific conditions and requirements of the given stage/.

This concern of the leadership of our party is also reflected in the measures adopted for improving the institutional framework called upon to study and to help concretely to solve the specific problems of the coexisting nationalities in our country. /Thus, the plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 24-25 October 1968 decided on the founding of the councils of the coexisting nationalities, proper bodies with a consultative and representative character. Created on the initiative of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, these councils operate both on a national level and in counties/. Under the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, there operate 1 Hungarian council and 1 German council each and, in counties, 15 councils of the Hungarian working people, 10 of the German working people and 2 each of the Serbian and Ukrainian working people, respectively. They perform--within the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, together with the other mass and public organizations--a rich and multilateral activity for explaining the party's policy, for educating the working people belonging to the different nationalities in the spirit of brotherhood and friendship with the Romanian people, of the scientific-materialistic outlook,

asserting themselves, at the same time, as reliable support for the party and state bodies in examining and solving the specific problems of the respective population, in accordance with the general interests of society, as well as of the citizens in these nationalities. "The councils of the working people of Hungarian and German nationality," the secretary general of the party judges, "play an important role as democratic forums that offer the proper framework for the discussion of the specific problems of the respective nationalities, as well as the problems of a general nature regarding the development of society, the growth of the well-being and happiness of our whole populace."*

/The existence and the activity of these bodies demonstrate that they are a concrete expression of the continual deepening of our socialist democracy, causing, in fact, the expansion of the framework for manifestation of civil rights and liberties. They occasion a new and strong affirmation of the unity and brotherhood between the Romanian people and the coexisting nationalities. They reflect faithfully the new, higher stage to which national relations in Romania have been raised, the qualitatively new content of these relations/.

In order to create an organizational framework that would facilitate scientific research in this important field, the Institute for Political Sciences and for Study of the National Problem was founded, a sector for the study of the history of the coexisting nationalities was established within the Nicolae Iorga Institute of History and several volumes of studies on the history of the coinhabiting nationalities in Romania and of their union with the Romanian nation were prepared under the aegis of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences. To the same end, specialized working bodies that are concerned exclusively with guiding the instructional-educational and cultural-artistic activity within the nationalities--both being run by a state secretary, a fact that emphasizes the importance that is accorded to them--were created, both in the Ministry of Education and Instruction and within the Council for Socialist Culture and Education. In addition, people of culture and specialists from the coexisting nationalities belong to the composition of the Ministry of Education and Instruction's management council, the Council for Socialist Culture and Education and the National Council for Romanian Radio-Television. The same thing also holds true for the unions involving creation.

All these things confirm the correctness of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's thesis, formulated several years ago, according to which "the continual development and the improvement of our socialist democracy and the more and more active participation of all categories of citizens in the management of society will also contribute to the creation of the conditions so that all may feel that no difference exists, that, indeed, our socialist society provides for the actual participation of the whole populace in forging its own destinies, its happy future! This means the truly Marxist-Leninist solution to the national problem!"**

In this light, the attempts of reactionary circles abroad to set themselves up as "protectors of the nationalities" in our country, to give us "lessons" about the way

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* Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate," Vol 15, p 560.

**Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania pe Drumul Construirii Societatii Socialiste Multilateral Dezvoltate," Vol 5, Politica Publishing House, 1971, p 576.

to solve the national problem, do nothing but reveal even more their true inimical, diversionist nature, an expression of the respective circles' policy of causing feuds between the peoples, the working people of different nationalities, of interfering in the internal affairs of other states. Therefore, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out in the report presented to the RCP National Conference, "by steadily implementing the party's national policy, by providing the conditions for full affirmation of the working people of different nationalities, just like the whole populace, we must give a decisive riposte to nationalistic, chauvinistic manifestations of any kind, must firmly reject any attempts of international reaction to interfere in Romania's internal affairs. Let us not forget for a moment that the working people belonging to the coexisting nationalities are citizens of socialist Romania with the same rights and obligations as all other citizens of the homeland. The problems of all the working people, regardless of nationality, are solved in proportion to the general progress of society, to the solution of the problems of the development of society."

/Our country's experience demonstrates that the solution to the national problem is not only an integral part of the general program of socialist revolution and construction but also a decisive condition for raising to a higher level the revolutionary process of erecting the multilaterally developed socialist society/. In order to apply this strategy, required for the continual progress of Romanian society, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, in the report presented to the RCP National Conference, the need to steadily apply the party's Marxist-Leninist policy on the national problem, providing for full equality in rights in all fields, for the equal participation of all citizens, regardless of nationality, in the management of society, for the continual strengthening of the unity of the working people, regardless of nationality, in their capacity of owners, producers and beneficiaries, of conscious builders of socialism. "It is necessary," the secretary general of the party said, "for us to perform a steady activity in order to strengthen the unity of our whole populace within the framework of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, under the leadership of the guiding political force of society--the Romanian Communist Party."

Such a social climate generates and consolidates the unity of will and action of all the working people, regardless of nationality, of all the forces of socialist Romania, who are affirming strongly and strikingly their determination to increase their efforts to carry out the program for multilateral development of the homeland and the decisions of the 12th party congress.

12105
CSO: 2700/126

NEW FORMULA FOR CUSTOMS EVALUATION OF IMPORTS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 8, 5 Feb 83 p 4

[Order of the Ministry of Finance on the Coefficient for the Customs Evaluation of Imported Goods]

[Text] The Ministry of France, on the basis of Decree No 784/1969 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of Finance, with subsequent modifications,

taking into consideration the provisions of Article 24 of the Customs Code of the Socialist Republic of Romania--Law No 30/1978 and Article 85 of the Customs Regulations, approved by Decree No 337/1981,

in accordance with Article 9 of the Agreement on the Application of Article VII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, accepted by the Socialist Republic of Romania in Decree No 183/1980,

issues the following order:

Article 1--In order to determine the customs value of goods imported into the Socialist Republic of Romania, the foreign prices, in hard currency, of these goods will be calculated in lei on the basis of a customs evaluation coefficient set at 16.5 lei for $1.

Article 2--As of the date of the present order, Order No 88/1981 of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation is no longer applicable.

Minister of Finance,

Petre Gigea

Bucharest, 31 December 1982
No 346

CSO: 2700/133

MANAGEMENT, DATA PROCESSING INSTITUTE TRANSFERRED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 8, 5 Feb 83 p 3

[Council of State Decree on the Transfer of the Central Institute for Management and Data Processing From the Council of Economic and Social Organization to the National Council for Science and Technology]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--As of the date of the present decree, the Central Institute for Management and Data Processing is transferred from the Council of Economic and Social Organization to the National Council for Science and Technology.

The director general of the Central Institute for Management and Data Processing is a member of the Executive Bureau of the National Council for Science and Technology.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist
Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 3 Feburary 1983
No. 32

CSO: 2700/133

CONSTRUCTION INSTITUTE TRANSFERRED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 8, 5 Feb 83 p 3

[Council of State Decree on the Transfer of the Central Institute for Research Design and Direction in Construction Work From the Council of Ministers to the Ministry of Industrial Construction]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--As of the date of the present decree the Central Institute for Research, Design and Direction in Construction Work is transferred from the Council of Ministers to the Ministry of Industrial Construction,

Article 2--The Institute for Industrial Construction Design in the Ministry of Industrial Construction and the Research and Design Institute for Apparatus for Construction Installations and Equipment, which has been subordinate to the Mechanization Central for Industrial Construction in the Ministry of Industrial Construction will be transferred to the Central Institute for Research, Design and Direction in Construction Work.

Article 3--The director general of the Central Institute for Research, Design, and Direction in Construction Work is a member of the leadership council of the Ministry of Industrial Construction and of its executive bureau.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist
Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 3 February 1983
No 31

CSO: 2700/133

NUCLEAR ENERGY COMMITTEE OUT OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 8, 5 Feb 83 p 2

[Council of State Decree on the Transfer of the State Committee for Nuclear Energy From the Council of Ministers to the National Council for Science and Technology]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--As of the date of the present decree the State Committee for Nuclear Energy is transferred from the Council of Ministers to the National Council for Science and Technology.

Article 2--The chairman of the State Committee for Nuclear Energy is also vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology.

Article 3--The director of the Central Institute for Physics also has the position of vice chairman of the State Committee for Nuclear Energy.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist
Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 3 February 1983
No 30

CSO: 2700/133

MEMBERSHIP OF CENTRAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 9, 9 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Council of State Decree Setting the Date and Confirming the Central Election Commission for the Election of Some Deputies to the Grand National Assembly]

[Excerpts] The date of 27 March 1983 has been set for the election of deputies to the Grand National Assembly in electoral districts No 1 in Tirgu Jiu, Gorj County and No 6 in Petrosani, Hunedoara County. The membership of the Central Electoral Commission presented in the annex to this decree is confirmed for these elections.

Nicolae Ceausescu
President of the Socialist
Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 8 February 1983
No 35

ANNEX

Central Electoral Commission

Chairman: Gheorghe Chivulescu, minister of justice

Deputy chairman: Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions

Secretary: Ion Gheorghe, deputy chairman of the Committee for Problems of People's Councils

Members: Maria Bobu, deputy chairman of the Bureau of the National Council of Women

Maria Asaftei, deputy chairman of the Council of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives

Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth

Ioan Ceterchi, member of the Central Council of the Association of Jurists

Gheorghe Gomoiu, lieutenant general, secretary of the Higher Political Council of the Army

Ladislau Lorincz, deputy chairman of the Council of Workers of Hungarian Nationality Ernest Breitenstein, deputy chairman of the Council of Workers of German Nationality

Ioachim Moga, first deputy section chief in the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party

Gheorghe Balaita, deputy chairman of the Union of Writers

Mariana Belis, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization

Ion Cumpanasu, chairman of the Union of Journalists

Rodica Bujor, deputy chairman of the Council of the Union of Communist Students Association of Romania.

CSO: 2700/133

BRIEFS

PERSONNEL CHANGES IN AGRICULTURE--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Fierbinteanu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry. Comrade Ion Zipis is appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry. Comrade Gheorghe Manciu is relieved of his position as state secretary and director general of the General Economic Directorate for the Mechanization of Agriculture in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry. Comrade Petre Leca is appointed state secretary and director general of the General Economic Directorate for the Mechanization of Agriculture in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry. Comrade Ion Oancea is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry--Department of State Agriculture. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 10, 14 Feb 83 p 3]

PEOPLES COUNCIL APPOINTMENT IN DOLJ--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Bulugiu, director of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry in Dolj County, is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Dolj County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 10, 14 Feb 83 p 3]

PEOPLES COUNCILS APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Porfir Negrea is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Neamt County People's Council. Comrade Elena Apostol is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Vrancea County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 7, 29 Jan 83 p 3]

HOLY BOOKS GIVEN TO ISRAEL--Tel Aviv, 25 Feb (ITIM)--As a goodwill gesture, Romanian Nicolae Ceausescu has allowed the delivery of torah books and holy scriptures from Romania to Israel following a request by Chief Romanian Rabbi Moshe Rosen. It should be noted that Romanian authorities do not permit the transfer of ancient books from the country. [Excerpt] [TA251454 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1445 GMT 25 Feb 83]

CSO: 4423/93

CROATIAN LC OFFICIAL VIEWS NEWS MEDIA SITUATION

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 23-25 Feb 83

[Series of articles by Mladen Zuvela, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee]

[23 Feb 83 p 3]

[Text] Clear Assessments

> At the meeting of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee on Monday the participants in the discussion on the tasks of the LC [League of Communists] in programming and carrying out the programmed policy in the news media included Mladen Zuvela, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, whose contribution we are presenting in several installments as edited by the author.

There are at least three remarks that should be made before the general discussion begins, remarks which are rather important and have to do not only with methods, but also the substance of the issue. The first has to do with the basis for the discussion, a basis which it seems to me has been assembled rather thoroughly, which is varied, and which is the result of a collective effort by a large number of activists in the LC. When I say this, I have in mind that over the last year a systematic and thorough analysis has been made here in the LC of the situation in the news media.

Thorough Analyses

I will recall only certain of the texts which the members of the Presidium have received. First of all, the question of the reactions, statements and polemics concerning the reprinting of Krleza's "Dialectical Anti-Barbarus," was worked up in the Center for Information and Propaganda of the Croatian LC Central Committee; the writing about Goli Otok was handled separately, as was the writing about the Cominform; in May articles and statements pursuing the line of demystification of the past and demands for liberties were worked up. In July the writing on the role of the news media and their influence in society, freedom of criticism and various deviations was separately worked up.

And then during September the Center worked up separately the writing about so-called cases: first, Petrinja, and then Karlovac, and so on. And finally a separate analysis was made of the writing in the newspaper DANAS, and that covering eight or nine areas within it.

Since October, when we had the first agreement and conversation with the editors in chief and managing editors in the news media, up to the present time all of 69 meetings have been held of basic organizations of the LC, and then seven action conferences, and six meetings of presidiums or committees of opstina committees and the Zagreb City Committee. The influence of the LC on the programmatic orientation and on implementation of editorial policy was evaluated on those occasions.

The following characteristics were evaluated: (1) editorial policy in each specific place; (2) the circumstances which favor the emergence and support of ideas opposed to the policy of the LC--from nationalism to sensationalism; (3) assessments of the political-ideological and professional competence of newsmen; (4) assessment of the activity and level of organization of the LC within the various workplaces making up the news media; and (5) finally, there was discussion of the tasks in this field of each basic organization and the opstina organization in the coming period.

Collective Effort

I do not stress this for formal reasons or out of a need to justify this approach to the analysis, but rather in order to emphasize the full breadth of the campaign and to say quite openly how the evaluations were written; in other words, to state that they are not an improvisation, they are not based on individual impressions and personal experience, but are first and foremost well-thought-out and the fruit of a collective effort.

I think that this is important not only to us in the Presidium, but also to all those who are concerned here, even though it is probably true that in many basic organizations they did not go to the end in the demands for reassessment of their own work and generally of the work of the LC in society.

The second remark pertaining both to substance and method comes down to the position that the situation in the organizations of associated labor in the newsgathering field and the status of the social campaign of party members is not a new topic we are taking up for discussion today. There has been a certain continuity here, and, as with any sensible political action, this should be borne in mind. We do not need to go all that far back. It is enough for us to go back to 1978. At that time the Presidium in its former makeup discussed the same topic. What was emphasized at that time, which problem? All of this should be examined in the light of today's events, an assessment should be made of what has been done, how we might be more specific in our action for tomorrow. In the meantime there was the Commission of the LCY for Information, there have been two party congresses, of Croatia and of Yugoslavia. In all those bodies four characteristic assessments were set forth which are valid even today, and there is hardly anything we need to add except, of course, with respect to the measures which need to be taken.

The Assessments

The first assessment which was expressed at that time goes like this: Inadequate activity of party members and a low level of ideological competence of organizations and party members have been detected in the news media. The consequences of this situation are a lack of ideas and ideological differentiation in opposing the bourgeois conception of freedoms and a weakening of the news media. The measure to resolve this is to strengthen the LC so that it might offer ideological confrontation wherever people live and work. This assessment is obviously very much to the point even today.

Or, the second assessment: In spite of the efforts to socialize newsgathering, our news media are not sufficiently capable of following the entirety of social relations and the full complexity of the processes in society, nor are they creative nor capable enough in their investigation, in their analysis, in helping to find solutions and problems, and so on. And from that situation follow the erroneous assessments of the situation, the emergence of tendencies in which problems and adversities in society are highlighted. A consequence of that is in turn the emergence of negativism, caviling, an absence of analytical delving into the causes, where the attention of the general public is diverted from the essential issues to those which are secondary, and so on.

Or, the third assessment: That this situation of superficial and marginal recording of events needs to be overcome without delay, that there is a need to put an end to cases of caviling and negativism toward the results achieved, cases of sensationalism, petit bourgeois attitudes, and so on.

And the fourth assessment: That it is the task of newsmen as sociopolitical workers to fight in a committed way for the development of self-management socialism, to take a critical and creative attitude toward occurrences in society so as to help to raise people's political and cultural awareness, that they must intensify a critical attitude as a part of creativity and constructively join in the struggle for new social relations and for the most progressive solutions, and so on. As you see, here again there is an obvious demand for committed professional advocacy on the part of newsmen as sociopolitical workers.

In saying this I want us in the context of today's discussion to be mindful of the continuity of these assessments, but, I repeat, only so that in the end we after all draw the conclusion that we have not been specific in our measures, at least not to the extent that was necessary. That is, if something has remained, if there is something which has not changed, that means that the actions have not always been up to the level of the proclamation.

[24 Feb 83 p 3]

[Text] Conflict Between the Old and New

The third preliminary remark has to do with the plant and equipment and personnel for operation of the news media. In a great number of the discussions so far there has been talk about difficulties with respect to facilities, personnel and organization. I realize that these are serious problems. However,

it seems to me that this is not such a decisive issue, a decisive difficulty that could cause a standstill in development of newsgathering. I am not thinking of technical difficulties, but of difficulties in development of newsgathering activity, or, still more specifically, of the presence of the policy of the LC in editorial policy.

Why do I think this?

It is certain that today we have large-scale and complex organizations of associated labor in the newsgathering field whether we are talking about the newspapers, the radio or television, and they have a huge work force. There are more than 1,500 newsmen working in the news media, and the total work force is about 7,000. This is a very large number of people, a large force. Moreover, it is obvious that the number of newspapers and the number of publications, of daily and weekly newspapers and periodicals, is growing.

The Numbers Are Increasing

The circulation of daily newspapers in Croatia, not including sports newspapers, is about 600,000. Their circulation is increasing steadily. Between 1975 and 1979 circulation rose 20 percent, and between 1979 and 1982 it rose another 18.6 percent. The pacesetters in the growth of circulation are once again VECERNJAK, and then SLOBODNA DALMACIJA and then NOVI LIST. Aside from this we should say that every significant organization of associated labor in physical production has some form of internal information of its own, and the local media are increasing at a rapid rate.

The number of radio stations is today 15-fold greater than in 1947, and the broadcasting power of all those stations of ours has increased more than 20-fold. We have 4 million radio subscribers and 4.1 million TV subscribers in the SFRY. We have about 1,800 radio stations (not large ones, to be sure), and we should pay some thought to them. After all, in Yugoslavia today practically every village wants to have its own radio station. In Croatia, as we have already said, there are 1.5 newsmen in the field of journalism, about 60 percent of them with junior and senior postsecondary specialized training, and about 70 percent of them are members of the LC. To repeat an assertion that has already been stated, this is the highest density of party members in any activity except members of the Yugoslav People's Army on active duty. Nowhere is the density of party members any higher. This is a fact that deserves particular insistence, since we are not discussing the situation in some other organization where we have to call in people from outside, but everything within our own organizational system and our own ideological and political orientation. This should at least be our point of departure as the basic premises.

The Pluses

My purpose in presenting these figures was to say that we are not so poor either in terms of facilities or people or with members of the LC, and that we cannot therefore develop as a basic premise that there are obstacles in terms of wherewithal, personnel and organization for carrying out the policy for

development of newsgathering on the principles of self-management, that is, the power of the working class. I repeat, this is not an argument we could make, at least not in terms of a decisive difficulty. I also say this because the deviations cannot be regarded as a consequence of a poor level of ideological education. That is, if the number of party members, party members, moreover, with knowledge, those who are also better informed, is accurate, then the source of the ideological conception contrary to the LC should not be sought in ignorance and immaturity, but somewhere else. Rather, without any question, and to a far greater extent in some other constellation of relations, a constellation of relations based on interest. And there is no doubt that this is one of the central issues we need to talk about today.

Processes

What is now to be added to the assessments presented in the Presidium in 1978 and at the congress in 1982? We can agree that the constructive processes detected earlier have continued; the transformation toward self-management has continued, improvement of the material and technical basis of newsgathering has continued, and development of the very act of newsgathering has continued. In my opinion people are somehow working more independently and with greater commitment in informing the public.

There have even been acts of courage which have been on the plane of the agreed policy, and that the policy for renewal of socialist principles, for strengthening the social character of work, social ownership, to evaluate labor as a virtue and fundamental social value, to strengthen socialist efforts and confidence in the institutions of self-management and government institutions, as is especially evident in the support for the measures of the Federal Executive Council.

Tendencies

Every well-intentioned reader, listener and viewer can see this. And I hold that we here today should also judge that that is so. But, as is the way in life, there has at the same time been conflict between what was on the path of the general progress of the advance of human civilization, bringing with it self-management, and that which is borne by the old conceptions. To be sure, it is clear that this conflict has not been across the board, but on the basis of individual statements (if we examine them over a lengthy period of time and evaluate them from the standpoint of their message and the theory they are based on) we can accurately discern four tendencies. We stated them when we undertook the campaign, and now that we have come to the end, they have been only confirmed, not contested.

The first tendency is disputing the democratic character of the historic form of the self-management society which we have today; the second tendency is proclaiming the LC incompetent, that is, illegitimate for future social development; the third is the tendency to minimize the achievements of the revolution; and the fourth, whether we like it or not--is nevertheless the singling out of the news media or at least a segment (and that a minor segment) as an infallible judge in society which can also be above society or at least above the institutions of society and the institutions of the LC.

Disputes

All these tendencies can be backed up with examples from the analyses referred to. The first tendency: disputing the democratic character of our development. All the articles on the dogmatic behavior of the LC from before the war up to the present, both in the case of the so-called conflict on the Left and about Krleza in 1939 and about Krleza after the war and today; the fate of "Dialectical Anti-Barbarus," of Goli Otok, of our Stalinism and neo-Stalinism, about the LC as a party patterned after the Third International, pursue that line. And there has been an abundance of such writings.

There is abundant documentation of this. The letter of a certain Pavlovic to the SFRY State Presidency is illustrative of this and it would be good to reflect on it. Why? Because it has an intellectual foundation, it is clearly stated and clearly calculated to dispute the central value of society.

We are right in asserting that we are a society of freedom, a society which has joined the call of the Marseillaise and the call of the Internationale: everyone has granted us this, that democratic character of the development of self-management socialism. Today maximum efforts are being made to dispute this. The denials cover a broad range. They run from the constant emphasis on the group nature of self-management to its almost endemic weakness of offering opportunities for all types of abuses to the point where it is virtually fertile soil for abuses (as at one time the valley of the Neretva was endemic for malaria)--from Medenica, by way of unlawful donations in sports, malversations for gain which have been built into the system, to the payment of income which has not been earned and the principle of "sticky fingers," the principle of taking whatever you can, since you are crazy if you are in a position to take it and don't.

This is constantly being bruited about concerning us, and yet people do not say that these things result from other types of organization of labor and society. One almost gets the impression that in both East and West this does not exist by some magic, by a superb level of organization. But one need not be well-read nor even all that well informed to know about those blessings. It is sufficient to recall two good films: Chaplin's "Modern Times," in which he talked about so-called scientific management, and "The Caine Mutiny," which deals with the issue of power over people. But, you see, everyone who works, every single one, is aware of this dilemma! And I know that self-management is strongest in this area, since it breaks up the oligarchic structure of labor, and that it will be difficult to displace it, least of all by some kind of money compensation or a hue and cry that this is not democratic.

[25 Feb 83 p 3]

[Text] A Faster, More Effective and Concerted Effort

The second tendency is the implicit pronouncement that the League of Communists is incapable of further social development. The examples here are still more abundant: from the thesis that the LC is not unified, that "cliquish" fights are constantly being waged within it, to the idea that it is a dogmatic

and incompetent organization bound up with all types of abuses and bears sole and exclusive blame for all failures in society.

Two Examples

A business manager is being tried for theft in Split, a theft that boggles the mind, but in the article, without much reflection, or indeed even deliberately, according to that Latin slogan "Vos populi, vos dei" (The voice of the people, the voice of God) these statements are inserted as the views of people who knew him: "We knew that he was a thief, we even said so, but he had people everywhere looking out for him, above all in the party." I was in the opstina committee at that time (this was last year) and I wondered: Who on the committee is covering up for him? No one, but this was said for a purpose. To be sure, he was a member of the LC, this is not the first thief, and this should be said. But to say that he was deliberately covered up by a forum--that is a lie which achieved its goal. The entire LC was charged with stealing.

Or another example. In connection with a survey in which I myself took part in preparation for the 12th congress, in which it is said that party members were to blame for 99.9 percent of all our investment mistakes. That kind of perfectionism does not exist even in telecommunications, much less in the social sciences. But the goal was achieved thereby, since even science confirmed that party members bore exclusive blame for this situation of ours. But in that same survey an objective analysis states something else, that members of the LC displayed exceptional moral purity and moral force. Incidentally, members of the LC also have a higher proportion among subtenants than in the general population. There are fewer of them among those engaged in substandard work and draining surplus in one way or another from the socialized end of the private sector, and so on.

As though all those workers (whom I know very well, and they are communists) gain something from being in the LC, as though all those pupils enrolling in the LC at age 18 are doing so because of assumed advantages in their life, as though a huge number of other party members have some material advantage and value guaranteed in advance for being members of the LC. And yet this is presented as unquestionable truth. That is what hurts.

The second list of examples is also long. The "Petrinja case" has the same message for the LC. It suggests that "cliquish" fights are being waged in the LC, that there are informal leaders in it, that collaborators are chosen on the basis of loyal devotion. This is the implicit message. Much the same with the "Karlovac case." The case of Inic, which came out in our press under the headline "The Revolution Can Wear Out," has a clear message: The LC is not competent because it has not defined its role, it is wandering between a model which it has abandoned and one which it has not yet established. A party which is not able to define its position today cannot define solutions for society.

Similar reflections can also be applied to the articles about Koncar. We have had the congress, yet we did not define how we will organize the LC.

All of this reminds me of a conversation in a church, to the effect that the LC is no longer a cohesive force, that it has managed to start an argument over everything, and that a way out can be offered only by a new bloc of subjective forces, among whom it would also have its place.

Attacks on the Revolution

The third tendency: minimization of the achievements of the revolution. Again there is an abundance of material. About how in 1941 we were not organized as we say we were, that others began the uprising, about spontaneity, about populist movements as vehicles of revolutionary action, about our failures in the revolution--about Kerestinac and later, contesting the figures which were the leading figures in the revolution and the values which made them prominent, stories about the end of ideology to the effect that ideologies are dead, or, more precisely, Marxism is dead as an ideology. The others are not ideologies.

Or, the most serious thesis: self-management is not a revolution, it is a specific historic utopia. This has been written in our country, and this means that self-management is not possible in this space and time, and we in the LC can discuss it in terms of theory and we can derive it from Marx, but we cannot built socialism on it. Recently the assertions about the achievements of the revolution have gone so far as to assert that the goal of the revolution was not achieved, not even community consensus. Or, still more dangerous assertions as in a letter to the editor to the effect that the Partizans entered certain areas, caused confusion, and then retreated and left the people to pay the price. Even if it was in a letter to the editor and in response to such letters, it is too much, and this is a highly dangerous thesis.

Program of Measures and Actions

I am saying all this in order to show how we need to be more vigorous and more definite in our activity in the news media. We have to enhance our presence and organization and operate more effectively and quickly. I feel that we must be more definite, must advocate both to ourselves and party members in basic organizations and opstina committees that a more effective program of measures and actions be drafted, and that a program of measures and actions aimed at more specific political-ideological action in the news media. This should be a campaign in which we would join the comrades from the news media in discussing and analyzing particular occurrences in society and arrive at certain knowledge together. Recently we have frequently been mentioning the so-called parallel economy as a fact in our context. Almost nothing is written about it in Yugoslav society, but it is obvious that this phenomenon deserves attention, since, if for no other reason, we must at least pose the thesis that this kind of work is making it more difficult to set up the socialized sector and to make it efficient. For at least that reason. And then we should sit down and try to say what this is, what the problem is? Let us analyze it: What forms does it take, what effect do they have, what does this mean for society, how is it to be presented to the public? From the methodological standpoint let this be the approach to conversations. About that thesis and many others.

Then I think that justified reproach in the news media to the effect that we often have not been together and that this is then one of the essential handicaps in their own work would be rejected.

7045
CSO: 2800/176

SETINC DISCUSSES SLOVENIA, NATIONALITY PROBLEM

LD071951 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 7 Mar 83

["Session of the CC of the LC of Slovenia--Excerpts From the Debate Speech by Franc Setinc"--TANJUG heading]

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Mar (TANJUG)--"A strategic battle is being waged now in Yugoslavia concerning implementation of the socialist alliance's constitutional role, said Franc Setinc at the session of the Slovene League of Communists Central Committee, without which comprehensive and successful action of the political system of socialist self-management cannot exist. This battle will be the more successful the faster the development of our party's transformation into the creative role of the League of Communists, representing a new quality in our system. In this sense there is no reason for self-satisfaction in Slovenia, although we have invaluable experience as a result of many years of work in the League of Communists. We should not be ashamed of that."

"Nationalism is a dangerous poison and there is plenty of it in all environments. However, this does not justify blanket assessment and generalization. Some people want us to detail a kind of statutory nationalist everywhere so that we can all be the same in this respect. This generalization prevents sober and serious discussion; it also engenders unnecessary passions, tensions, intolerance and a great deal of that kind of thing.

This is not good, Franc Setinc went on to say. In addition such blanket attacks do not affect those who are really nationalists whereas they can hit those who are not. One cannot avoid the impression that such blanket assessments are often made by people who compensate for their lack of ability in ideological struggle with the wrong kind of avant-garde spirit. Others again, by hunting the enemy without are concealing the enemy within, both in their conduct, lack of knowledge and irresponsibility. A genuine battle against concrete examples of enemy activity in all its forms is a creative and brave act. It is easier to thunder against nationalism in a general sort of way than constantly to resolve the social problems which feed nationalist aspirations. You will find more nationalism in the kind of discussion which sows doubt in our federal system and in the role of republics and provinces, than anywhere else; the most dangerous enemy is the one who said 30 years ago

self-management was a rash thing to undertake, and proceeded to hamper it with everything at his command. Now he says self-management is responsible for all our difficulties. You will find more nationalism than anywhere else in all concrete examples of the republics and provinces shutting themselves off, in stressing selfish economic advantages, in belittling others, etc. The introduction of coupons provides abundant food for nationalism; the so-called "coupon" policy, as Mitja Ribicic calls it, doesn't resolve anything but creates complications and problems from which we shall extricate ourselves with difficulty. It is even worse than that. It creates among people a feeling of equality in distribution and consumption regardless of production efforts, productivity, investments into commodity reserves, etc. In this way we shall get further and further from the principle of distribution according to work done, and also from the possibility to reallystabilize our economy and to consolidate a system of socialist self-management and introduce a new quality into the unified Yugoslav market. In addition, it will create the material basis for all possible kinds of nationalisms contrary to the spirit of brotherhood and unity.

Aspirations for state centralism are a dangerous source of nationalism as well. We must not forget Kardelj's words that we must pursue the kind of national policy which will free every honest citizen of his fear of the free development of political, economic and cultural individuality of the nation to which he belongs. Working people in the republics and in the provinces must freely and independently control the surplus of their joint social labor in order to be able to build and develop the entire national superstructure and together with others successfully resolve joint Yugoslav problems.

We must not forget either that the power of nationalism is less where progressive socialist forces permanently hold in their own hands the impetus for the solution of the most vital questions. Let us take as an example of out attitude toward the Slovenes outside our borders. Where no nationalism was able to provide a better alternative than that formulated and implemented by the League of Communists within the ambit of the socialist alliance. The same applies to the Slovene language for whose responsibility a significant movement was created within the framework of the socialist alliance which, despite specific mistakes, one-sided decisions and even some nationalistic manifestations, did not (?allow) nationalism in general to be proclaimed. Individual authors created an atmosphere in the Yugoslav environment in which they should soon cease this broad social action because it is allegedly dangerous and nationalistic. This, to put it mildly is nonsense. It is in the interest of Yugoslavia as a whole to make efforts to continue the policy of open borders, while the efforts to exempt local border trade from the regulations on deposits are proclaimed to be national egotism and a nationwide smuggling exercise. This too is nonsense; it isn't true either. [passage as received]

There is no basis either for the dilemma about whether our Slovene nationalism is aggressive or merely defensive. It is better to remain with the well-known thought of Oton Zupancic which is as follows: "To love one's nation without chauvinism and to love mankind and other peoples, even the biggest, without servility and without humiliating oneself, as an equal against an

equal." This means working for brotherhood and unity as a real thing and not as a pathetic oath in which deeds do not follow words. So this means association, mergers and cooperation with above-board accounts, said Franc Setinc.

"Differentiation which is satisfied with blanket assessments will not take you to concrete responsibility or to expulsion from the League of Communists, or to the recall of those who are paying lip-service to stabilization and self-management while in practice they operate against them. For instance, no advantage accrues from 'differentiation when accompanied by the question for the orientation indicated by Milka Planinc to here report several months ago. [sentence as received] What we need is differentiation on the question how, in specific terms, we are implementing differentiation because many people interpret it in their own way and divert it from our own strategic orientations. This is our enemy number one now. Most concrete problems such as state centralism, nationalism and all kinds of other things are implicit in it, following the logic: As many rights as possible to yourself and as many responsibilities as possible onto the shoulders of others.

"We can forge our way out of the crisis only through the creative alternative of each and every one of us, through new policies of the way we run the economy and of our lives as a whole, everywhere, without difference, in any part of Yugoslavia, in the developed and in the less developed areas. Unity in the League of Communists and in society must be built on this."

CSO: 2800/185

MAJER COMMENTS ON SLOVENIAN NATIONALISM

LD071924 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 7 Mar 83

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 7 Mar (TANJUG)--"We should ask ourselves what is happening regarding nationalism and all the trends springing from it in Slovenia; what we should do to become ideologically prepared for this struggle, and how we should wage it," Dr Boris Majer said in the debate at a session of the Central Committee of the Slovene League of Communists. "In connection with the latest escalation of nationalism in Yugoslavia--which, at least in my view, is less prevalent in Slovenia, or at least less visible and noisy than elsewhere in Yugoslavia (which, however, does not mean that there are no nationalist trends and phenomena in Slovenia or that "Slovene" nationalism is less aggressive and dangerous than other nationalism)--I wish to draw your attention to Kardelj's well known analysis of roots, forms and possible consequences of nationalist aspirations in the development of our society, which he formulated in 1957, which means over 25 years ago, in the introduction of the second edition of the book "The Development of the Slovene National Question."

The traditional bourgeoisie is no longer the chief protagonist of nationalist aspirations in our society. This should be qualified by mentioning that remnants of the bourgeoisie still exist, as does its ideology, as a heritage of the past in a section of our social awareness, a heritage which has not yet been defeated. Protagonists of nationalist aspirations are to be found in administrative structures or parts of these structures, which, thanks to insufficiently developed self-management relations, have abused their position in society to gain significant privileges, social power and considerable material gain, and which naturally feel threatened. They would in fact very soon lose their privileged position if workers started to be genuinely involved in making decisions affecting conditions and results of their labor in the overall chain of expanded reproduction.

For this reason the struggle against nationalism is clearly a class struggle, a struggle to decide who will in reality decide on conditions and results of labor, on destiny and distribution newly-created wealth. It is precisely this fact that today's nationalism uses skillfully, and unfortunately not always unsuccessfully in our society by linking it with nationalist feelings, national past, language, national culture, and so forth, as was done in the past by bourgeois nationalism.

I believe one of the basic weakenesses of the League of Communists is it preoccupation with numerous pressing economic tasks, which has made it lose sight of prospects and avenues of further progress of socialism and self-management democracy, and which has somewhat weakened its ability for synthesis, for linking social contradictions with a long-term vision. It is precisely this which has allowed the appearance of various unsocialist, antiself-management aspirations, tendencies and ideologies, which are growing increasingly aggressive and trying to gain a foothold throughout Yugoslavia.

We shall counter the influence of these ideologies best by presenting real problems, contradictions and dilemmas of today's world and our own social development, by being able to organize truly wide-ranging democratic debates on these problems and by also being able to show realistic prospects for their resolution and to mobilize all truly creative and progressive productive forces in our society to achieve this. Our working people know full well who presents real problems and who illusory ones, who shows the way forward and who offers and revises dilemmas which we have already overcome in our development to date and which pull us back, which cannot contribute to the solving of today's problems and contradictions and which cannot show any realistic alternatives and do not open any real democratic self-management prospects, Dr Boris Majer said.

CSO: 2800/185

SERB SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS DISPLAY FASCIST, CHETNIK SYMBOLS

Events in Svetozarevo School

AU041500 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 83

[Excerpts The nationalist excesses of some individual students of the Svetozarevo Veljko Vlahovic Education Center are a topic of discussion in Svetozarevo itself and, at the same time, also a cause for deeper reflection. Zivojin Jerotijevic comments:

The occurrences in Svetozarevo cannot leave anyone indifferent even though the occurrence of nationalism in its most aggressive fascistic form in the community has been made possible precisely by indifference. The saddest fact in this connection is that the seed of evil has taken root among a section of the school youth and not only in that town of our republic. The events in the Veljko Vlahovic Education Center in Svetozarevo demand precise answers to many questions, such as, for instance, the following: What is the social and class basis of the nationalist actions of young people? What are the sources of their inspiration? How much do these young people know about our recent past when the Chetnik Black Troikas were writing the most shameful treason of the Serbian people with their daggers?

And what about the school? Have the teachers forgotten that they are not merely teachers, as Desanka Maksimovic used to point out? How could it happen at all that the political, human, parental and patriotic reflexes have failed some of the teachers and that the vigilance of educators has been blunted to such an extent that they were blind and deaf to the improper actions of their students, to put it mildly, actions which cast a heavy moral stain on the educators themselves since the students involved are their own students.

According to the conclusions published yesterday, the plenum of the LCY Central Committee on the ideological problems in the society expressed the firm determination of the party to use all its forces in the struggle against the ideological tendencies and political expressions which disparge the basic orientations of our revolution and undermine its achievements and values. And what is more: The views of the Central Committee must be also understood as an encouragement to the communists, working people and citizens of our country and especially to the youth, to courageously and energetically launch a public ideological and political struggle to identify every kind of nationalism, its roots and causes and to isolate its promoters. The events of the Svetozarevo Veljko Vlahovic Education Center provide an opportunity to do that.

Hitler Anniversary Marked

AJ041445 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 83

[Summary] "Certain nationalist and other devisions among students of the Svetozarevo Veljko Vlahovic Education Senter were discussed recently at Marathon Party meetings at this school center and at the Communal Committee of the League of Communists." The Veljko Vlahovic Education Center is attended by over 2,000 students and has a staff of 160 teachers. Rade Milosavljevic reports from Svetozarevo:

"The first specific discussion on deviant phenomena in this school was conducted in the middle of last month when the basic organization of the League of Communists held a meeting to discuss the Marxist discussion forum that was held at the beginning of February and dealt with the anniversary of Hitler's assumption of power. The discussion forum on this topic was organized by three students of the school without the participation of the school's youth conference and virtually without the knowledge or influence of the school's teachers. One of the three students also appeared as a lecturer at the forum. His lecture included among other things statements like Hitler could not be blamed for not knowing how to rule, that he united the German people and the German workers class and that he possessed great oratory abilities. The printed invitations to the forum stated: 'We invite you to attend the historical soiree on the 50th anniversary of Hitler's assumption of power.'

"Another reason for the discussion by the school's communists was the preceding Marxist discussion forum at which the same group of students spoke on the topic 'Yugoslavia--Federation or Confederation' instead of on the topic of Yugoslav federalism which had been agreed upon with the school's teachers. In the meantime, swastikas appeared two or three times on the walls of the school rooms and the same students involved in this connection were coming to school wearing tall fur hats [subara] [considered the customary headgear of Serbian Chetnicks]."

In this connection the school's party organization called attention to the complete absence of training, pedagogical and ideological work with the youth and teachers of the school. Two days ago, the Communal Committee of the League of Communists concluded that the communists of the Veljko Vlahovic School Center should be helped in recognizing all negative phenomena and take energetic measures against their promoters. "Today it was reported that the working group of the organization of the League of Communists had just completed its work in this connection and that, among other things, it pointed to Tomislav Petrovic, the school's director, six of his assistants for individual sections of work process and several individual teachers of history and Marxism as the main individuals responsible for all the aforementioned occurrences." Today's conversation with leaders of the school's youth conference has confirmed the findings of the working group of the basic organization of the League of Communists and the views expressed at the party meeting in the middle of February. According to the regional education inspector, the Marxist discussion forum in the school is marked by considerable arbitrariness and improvisation.
CSO: 2800/185

SERBIAN LC DISCUSSES IDEOLOGICAL DEVIATION AMONG WRITERS

LD080258 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 7 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Mar (TANJUG)--Today's session of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee was devoted to current ideological trends in culture. The opening speech was made by Radijov Cveticanin, executive secretary of the LDY Central Committee Presidium, who said that a lot had been done since the Tenth LCY Congress toward creating a concept of culture as an integral part of associated labor, but that in practice little of this had been achieved. Relations in culture today, said Cveticanin, practice a "hybrid process," which is a mixture of self-management, administrative interventions, market laws and voluntaristic actions.

In the present conditions of isolationism and the lack of broad social influences on cultural institutions, many negative ideopolitical phenomena are to a large extent reproducing themselves, particularly bourgeois traditionalism and the misuse of culture and art for political ends from positions foreign to socialism and to our concept of self-managing cultural policy.

Turning in particular to publishing activities, Cveticanin stressed that in spite of all the difficulties which it is experiencing, publishing has shown its vitality and has made a considerable contribution to national and Yugoslav socialist culture. Our problem is often seen in the fact that certain real breakthroughs and recognized facts are not sufficiently present in our press and journalism. Overlooking this progressive scope of our culture and critical thought, and neglecting one critical current in our historiography speaks of undoubted resistence to this Marxist line in our culture.

In publishing production in Belgrade, said Cveticanin, there have been editions which relate to certain individuals and events from so-called other environments. In their subject matter, which in some of them is nationalistically colored, these books have evoked a justifiable reaction in the environment they are describing. An atmosphere of rousing support has been created around them in the public media by publishing panegyric reviews. More as a result of their impact than their number, these publications have occupied a large space in public, creating various tensions, misunderstandings and controversies. It is characteristic that such publications have mainly appeared in small publishing houses where social influence on publishing programs and production is reduced or sometimes even eliminated. A

typical organization of this kind is Zapis. Even at first glance it can be seen that the pretensions of the authors of some of these books go beyond the artistic—that is, they are more political than artistic. This could be described as literary-political trash, third rate literary content. In the critical vacuum, the author and his militant clan make use of the opportunity for a kind of self-publicity which goes as far as the misuse of certain public forums. Serbian nationalism is obviously a case in point, its obsession being the indictment of other environments and nations.

It is important for us now for communists to involve themselves in this critical line, as well as other progressive forces in cultural institutions, in publishing activity, journals, cultural columns and in the socialist alliance. I believe that we must not allow our action to begin to wane after a certain period of time so that these regressive tendencies renew themselves and return to the scene. Those critics of nationalism who more or less systematically speak to someone else are also not convincing, since they see nothing of what happens from day to day in front of their very eyes, so to speak. This kind of dramatization of "the cases of others" and the justification or overlooking of "one's own" arises from an etatist-bureaucratic ideological outlook. If we are more successful in stamping out this approach on all sides, then there will be fewer (?reproaches) and misunderstandings and more communist consistency in the struggle against nationalism and more fruitful integration of culture and social integration generally. In this context the question arises as to what the real motives were behind the publication of those political essays of Dobrica Cosic in the book "The Real and the Possible," which, from nationalistic positions, brings into question the solutions of the national question in Yugoslavia.

The fact is that today the ideological struggle in the field of culture is fuelled and waged mainly from political forums. The problem is not that the political forums are those which set the example for ideological action, because they have the rights and obligations to do this; the problem is that the ideological struggle does not go any further, that the forces of which most is expected are not involved to the full extent in the action. We are talking primarily of communist-creators who very often remain on the sidelines.

Artistic associations, as parts of the socialist alliance, have particular obligations in this matter, stressed Cveticanin. The behavior of communist-creators is of crucial importance here. Some creative workers are only members of the League of Communists on paper. This is confirmed by the long silence of the communist writers' aktiv. The aktiv is, however, gradually consolidating its ranks and important results should be expected of it in the coming period. The writers' association is experiencing strong pressure from a small part of its membership to turn itself into a narrow ideological forum with elements of opposition-mongering against the League of Communists and society. A great deal of this pressure is exerted by the committee for the protection of artistic freedoms. This committee was created and acts with the pseudo-liberal and essentially anti-self-amanagement idea that it is the highest judge of our entire socialist democracy. The essence of our view of the existence and activity of the committee is not changed by the fact that its members include writers whose literary work can be respected. With regard

committee, the behavior of KNUJIZEVNE NOVINE which has eagerly given over its pages to the former's statements is characteristic. It seems that it is quite correct to consider that the committee would actually not exist in its public role if it did not have the patronage of these editorial offices. At the last session of the publishing council of KNUJIZEVNE NOVINE a critical examination and appraisal was made of this direction in its activity which would result in a real change in the behavior of the editorial staff.

When we speak about an ideological offensive by the League of Communists today, we have to be aware of one real danger: that the justifiably harsh criticism of negative trends in culture should not turn into a dogmatic witch-hunt. Nothing could damage our activity as much as such an unwanted outcome. The expression of these fears could be interpreted as a kind of opportunism if there was not, unfortunately, a basis for it in topical cultural life.

Incidents cannot be a normal life of a culture, although it is obvious that certain cultural circles try to turn the "culture of incidents" into its regular state. In any case incidents have most frequently occurred among other things, because institutions have failed and because their role has been taken over by narrow groups and cliques.

Our discourse on the ideological state of culture cannot be reduced to a few incidents which have recently been a frequent subject of discussion. We have to embark on a creation of a wide-ranging program of ideopolitical action of the League of Communists in culture, which would mean a thorough examination of present relations in this sphere. Communists working in culture bear a great deal of responsibility for socialist and self-management contents of cultural programs, said Cveticanin.

The debate stressed the need for developing Marxist criticism and its more active attitude toward creativity and toward unacceptable phenomena within it. This is needed because what is said by political forums cannot take place of good and timely Marxist criticism. What is needed is a Marxist analysis of the situation in culture as a whole. However, the meeting stated, waging a struggle in Belgrade or somewhere else is not the same, since a large number of creators, cultural institutions, students and people with university education are concentrated in the capital. This is best and most clearly seen when contradictory demands are voiced and when compromise solutions prevail. Conflict between pragmatic and revolutionary action and between everyday politics and the League of Communists intensifies sharply. Numerous negative phenomena in culture, the session said, such as commercialization, Kitsch, pandering to bad taste and even some of the so-called "incidents" are the result of activity of a kind of culture market. Particular stress in the debate was laid on the inadequate and insufficient influence of the League of Communists on the younger generation.

In a closing speech, the president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists, Dusan Ckrebic, stressed the need for ideological training and building of ideological unity within the League of Communists' ranks, which was a starting point and a prerequisite for a wider influence of the League of Communists in society. However, this is where we encounter many weaknesses today. From a relaxed and comfortable

attitude, which sees ideological struggle and involvement as an inferior and secondrate occupation, to political and ideological blindness and to wavering and retreating before aggressive individuals, groups and clans, while being scared and confused and not knowing whether the League of Communists will offer support or leave one in the lurch to be buffeted by political winds. The statement that aggressive behavior of individuals, groups, and clans is directly related to the activity or rather inactivity of the League of Communists is true and this attitude must be changed and overcome. I feel free to say that this vast party, ideological and creative potential of ours is today reminiscent of a giant still asleep, who has vast intellectual powers to which he keeps referring, as well as a class approach to revolutionary action which he either does not initiate or initiates insufficiently. This is a giant who sharpens his ideological weapons too long, constantly postponing the clash, encounter and confrontation with other, ideologically alien forces.

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